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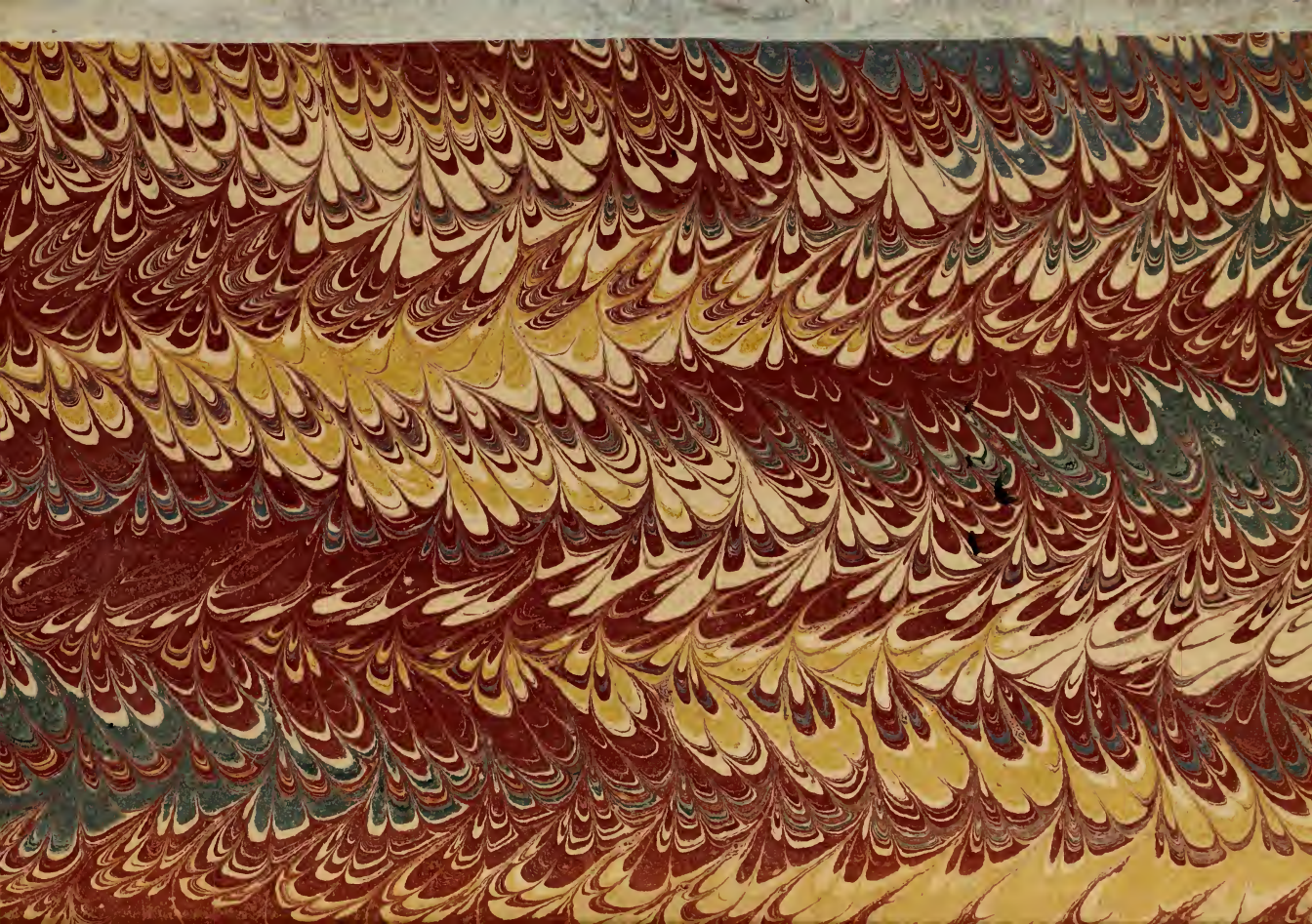

WILSON'S (Sir T.) Arte of Rhetorique for the use of all suche as are studious of Eloquence, 4to. black letter, *brown morocco extra, antique style, gilt edges, very fine copy*, £1. 4*s* 1562

This very excellent work was well known to Shakspeare. It contains some curious anecdotes and a reference to Will. Somers, with "wittie jesting and tales."

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The Arte of

Rhetorique, for the vse of all
soche as are studious
of Eloquence, set forth
in Englishe, by
THOMAS
Wilson.
1553.

And now newlie sette foorthe
againe, with a Prologue
to the Reader.

Anno Dñi.
1562.

Imprinted at London,
by Ihon Kingston.

153,452

May 1873

¶ To the right ho-

nourable Lorde, Ihon Dudley, Lorde

Lille, Erle of Warwike, and

Maister of the horse to the kyn-

ges Maiestie: your assured

to commaunde, Tho-

mas Wilson.

When Pirrhus king of the Epirotes, made battaile againste the Romaines, and could neither by force of armes, nor yet by any policie win certain strong holdes: he vsed commonlie to sende one Cineas (a noble Oratour, and sometymes Scholer to Demosthenes) to perswade with the Capitaines and people that were in theim, that thei should yelde vp thesaid holde or tounes, without fight or resistaunce. And so it came to passe, that through the pithie eloquence of this noble Oratour, diuers stronge Castelles and Fortresses, were peaceablie giuen vp, into the handes of Pirrhus, whiche he should haue founde, verie harde and tedious to winne by the sworde. And this thyng was not Pirrhus hymselfe ashamed in his common talke, to the praise of the saied Oratour, openly to confesse: alledgyng that Cineas, thorowe the eloquence of his tongue, wanne mo cities vnto hym, then euer hymselfe should els haue been hable, by force to subdue. Good was that Oratour, whiche could dooe so moche: and wise was that kyng, whiche would vse soche a meane. For, if the worthynesse of eloquence maie moue vs, what worthier thyng can there bee, then with a woorde to winne Cities, and whole countries: If profite maie perswade, what greater gain can we haue, then without bloodshed achiue to a conqueste: If pleasure maie prouoke vs, what greater delite doe we knowe,

then to see a whole multitude, with the onely talke of a man, rauished and drawen, whiche waie he liketh beste to haue thē? Boldely then maie I aduenture, and without feare step forth, to offer that vnto your Lordshippe, whiche for the dignitie is so excellent, and for the vse so necessarie: that no man ought to be without it, whiche either shall beare rule ouer many, or muste haue to doe with matters of a Realme. Consideryng therefore, your Lordshippes high estate, and worthie callyng, I knowe nothyng more fittyng with your honour, then to the gifte of good reason and vnderstandyng, wherewith we see you notablie endued, to ioigne the perfection of Eloquent vtteraunce. And bicause that aswell by your Lordshippes moste tender imbracyng, of all soche as be learned, as also by your right studious exercises, you dooe euidently declare, not onely what estimacion you haue, of all learning and excellent qualitees in generall, but also what a specialle desire and affection, you beare, to Eloquence: I therefore, commende to your Lordshippes tuicion and patronage, this treatise of Rhetorique, to thende that ye maie gette some furtheraunce by thesame, and I also be discharged of my faithfull promise, this laste yere made vnto you. For, where as it pleased you, emong other talke of learnyng, earnestlie to wishe, that ye might one daie see the preceptes of Rhetorique, sette forthe by me in Englishe, as I had erste doen the rules of Logique: hauing in my countrie this last Sommer, a quiete tyme of vacacion, with the right worshipfull sir Edwarde Wimmoke knight: I trauailed so moche, as my leasure might serue thereunto, not onely to declare my good harte, to the satisfyng of your requeste in that behalfe, but also through that your motion, to helpe the towardnesse of some other, not so well furnished as your Lordship is.

For, as touchyng your self, by the tyme that perfecte experience, of manifold and waightie matters of the cōmon weale, shall haue encreased the Eloquence, whiche alreadie doeth naturally flowe in you: I doubt nothyng, but you will so farre be better then this my booke, that I shal not onely bloushe to chalenge you for a Scholer, in the Arte of Rhetorique, by me rude-

ly

ly sette forthe: but also be driuen to sette this simple treatise, to your Lordshippe to Schoole, that it maie learne Rhetorique of your daily talke, finding you soche an Oratour in your speache as greate clarkes doe declare, what an Oratour should be.

In the meane season, I shall right humblie beseche youre good Lordshippe, so to be a patrone and defendour, of these my labours, to you dedicated: as I shall bee a continuall peticioner vnto almightie God, for your preseruacion, and long continuaunce.

¶ A Prologue to the Reader.

REATE maie their boldenesse be thoughte, that seeke without feare to set forthe their knowledge: and suffer their doynges to be seen, thei care not of whom. For, not onelie thereby doe thei bring menne to thinke, that thei stande moche in their owne conceipt, but also thei seme to assure theim selues, that all menne will like, whatsoeuer thei write. Wherein thei commit twoo greate faultes: the one is, that thei are proude: the other is, that thei are fonde. For, what greater pride can there bee, then for any manne, to thinke hymself to bee wiser, then all menne liuyng? Or what greater folie can be immagined, then for one to thinke, that all menne will like, what soeuer he writeth? Soche are thei for the moste parte by all likelihode, that doe set forthe bokes. Wherein thei doe bothe betraie theim selues, and also giue greate occasion to the worlde, to talke largely of them. But al those that doe write, are not soche as I saie, nor meane not as I thinke, as the whiche are wise and learned menne, writyng onely vnder the correction of others, to edifie their neighboure, and not seekyng in any wise their owne glorie. Neither all that be readers, will talke their pleasures, but rather skale their iudgemētes, and weye thinges with reason. Some perhappes maie like the writer, if his doynges be good, but the moste part vndoubtedly, muste of force bee offended, as the whiche are corrupte of iudgemente, bicause thei are nought. Then soche as seeke the greateste praise, for writyng of bookes, should doe beste in my simple minde, to write foolishe toyes, for then the moste parte, would beste esteme theim. And herein perhappes maie I gette some aduauntage, that in my young yeres, haue been bolde to set forth my simple fantasies. For, in soly I dare compare with the proudest, and in pride I dare matche with hym, that is most foolishe; not doubtyng to finde soche fellowes, that not onelie

will seke to be egall vnto me, and perhappes excell me, but also soche as will therein right well esteme me.

Cicero in his second booke de Oratore, bryngeth in one Lucilius, a pleasaunte and merie conceipted manne, who saieth, that he would not haue soche thynges as he wrote to be redde, either of those that wer excellently learned, or of them that wer altogether ignoraunt. For, that the one would thinke more of his dooynges, and haue a farther meanyng with hym, then euer the authour self thought: the other takyng the boke in his hande, would vnderstande nothyng at all, beeyng as meete to reade authours, as an Asse to plaie on the Organnes. This manne in thus sayyng, had some reason. But I being somwhat acquainted with the worlde, haue founde out an other sorte of menne, whom of all others, I would be lothe should reade any of my doings: especially soche thynges as either touched Christ or any good doctrine. And those are soche malicious folke, that loue to finde faultes in other mennes matters, and seuen yeres together will kepe theim in store, to the vtter vndooyng of their christian brother: not mindyng to read for their better learning but seekyng to depraue whatsoeuer thei finde, and watchyng their tyme, will take beste aduauntage, to vndoo their neighbour. Soche men I saie of all others, would I bee lothe to haue the sight, of any myne earneste dooynges, if I could tell how to forbid them, or how to hinder them of their purpose.

Twoo yeres past, at my beyng in Italie, I was charged in Roome Toune, to my greate daunger and vtter vndooyng (if Gods goodnesse had not been the greater) to haue written this boke of Rhetorique, and the Logique also, for the whiche I was compted an heretique, notwithstanding the absolucion, graunted to all the realme, by Pope Julie the thirde, for all former offences or practises, deuised againste the holie mother Churche, as thei call it. A straunge matter, that thinges doen in Englād seuen yeres before, and the same vniuersallie forgiuen, should afterwardes be laied to a mannes charge in Roome. But what can not malice doe? Or what will not the wilfull deuise, to satisfie their mindes, for vndooyng of others. God be my Judge, I had

had then as little feare (although death was presente, and the torments at hande, whereof I felte some smarte) as euer I had in all my life before. For, when I sawe those that did seeke my death, to bee so maliciously sette, to make soche poore shiftes, for my redier dispatche, and to burden me with those backe reckenynges: I toke soche courage, and was so bold, that the Iudges then did moche maruaile at my stoutnesse, and thinkyng to bryng doune my greate harte, tolde me plainlie, that I was in farther perille, then whereof I was aware, and sought therevpon to take aduauntage of my woordes, and to bryng me in daunger by all meanes possible. And after long debatyng with me, thei willed me at any hande, to submit my self to the holie Father, and the deuoute Colledge of Cardinalles. For, otherwise there was no remedie. With that beyng fullie purposed, not to yelde to any submission, as one that little trusted their colourable deceipte: I was as ware as I could bee, not to vtter any thyng for myne owne harme, for feare I should come in their daunger. For, then either should I haue died, or els haue denied, bothe openlie and shamefullie, the knowen truthe of Christ and his Gospell. In thende by Gods grace, I was wonderfullie deliuered, through plain force of the worthie Romaines (an enterprise heretofore in that sorte neuer attempted) beyng then without hope of life, and moche lesse of libertie. And now that I am come home, this booke is shewed me, and I desired to looke vpon it, to amende it, where I thought meete. Amende it q. I: Naie, let the booke first amende it self, and make me amendes. For, surely I haue no cause, to acknowlege it for my booke, bicause I haue so smarted for it. For, where I haue been cruill handeled, I haue moche a doo, to shewe my self frendlie. If the soonne were the occasion, of the fathers imprisonmente, would not the father bee offended with hym thinke you: Or at the least, would he not take heede, how hereafter he had to doo with hym: If others neuer gette more by bookes, then I haue doen: it wer better be a Carter, then a Scholer, for worldlie profite. A burnte childe feareth the fire, and a beaten Dogge, escheweth the whippe. Now therefore, I will none of

this booke from henceforthe, I will none of hym I saie: take hym that lust, and weare hym that will. And by that tyme thei haue paied for hym so dearelie, as I haue doen, thei will bee as wearie of him, as I haue been. Who that toucheth Pitch, shalbe filed with it, and he that goeth in the Sunne, shalbe Sunne burnt, although he thinke not of it. So thei that will read this, or sochc like bookes, shall in the ende, bee as the bookes are. What goodnes is in this treatise, I can not without vainglorie reporte, neither will I meddle with it, either hotte or colde. As it was, so it is, and so bee it still hereafter for me: so that I heare no more of it, and that it be not yet ones again cast in my dishe. But this I saie to others, as I am assured thei will laugh that will reade it: so if the worlde should tourne (as God forbid) thei wer moste like to wepe, that in all pointes would followe it. I would bee lothe that any manne should hurte hymself, for my doynges. And therefore, to auoide the worste for all partes, the beste were never ones to looke on it: for then I am assured, no manne shall take harme by it. But I thinke some shall read it, before whom I dooe washe my handes, if any harme should come to them hereafter, and let theim not saie, but that thei are warned. I never harde a manne yet troubled for ignorannce in religion. And yet me thinkes, it is as greate an heresie, not to knowe God, as to erre in the knowlege of God. But some perhappes, maie saie vnto me: Sir, you are moche to bee blamed, that are so fearfull, and doe caste sochc perilles before hande, to discourage menne from well doyng. I aunswere: My mynde is not to discourage any manne, but onely to shewe, how I haue been tried for this bokes sake, tanquam per ignem. For, in deede the prison was on fire, when I came out of it, and where as I feared fire most (as who is he that doeth not feare it:) I was deliuered by fire and sworde together. And yet now thus fearfull am I, that hauyng been thus swinged, and restrained of libertie: I would firste rather hassarde my life presently hereafter, to dye vpon a Turke: then to abide againe without hope of libertie, sochc painfull imprisonment for euer. So that I haue now got courage with sufferyng damage, and made my self as you

se,

see, verie willyng from hencefoorthe to dye: beyng then brought onely but in feare of death. Thei that loue sorowe vpon sorow: God sende it theim. I for my parte, had rather be without sense of grief, then for euer to liue in grief. And I thinke the troubles before death, beyng long suffered, and without hope continued a worse a great deale, then present death it self can be: especially to hym that maketh little accoumpte of this life, and is well armed with a constaunte mynde to Godwarde. Thus I haue talked of my self, more then I needed, some will saie, and yet not more (maie I well saie) then I haue needed in deede. For, I was without all help, and without all hope, not onely of liberte, but also of life, and therefore, what thyng neded I not: Or with what wordes sufficientlie, could I sette forthe my neede: GOD be praised, and thankes be giuen to him onely, that not onely hath deliuered me, out of the Lions mouth: but also hath brought Englande, my deare countrie, out of greate thraldom and forrein bondage.

And GOD saue the Quenes Maiestie, the realme, and the scattered flocke of Christe, and graunte, O mercifull GOD, an vniuersall quietnesse of mynde, perfite agremente in doctrine, and amendment of our liues, that we maie be all one Shepefolde, and haue one Pastour Iesus, to whom with the father, and the holie Ghoste, bee honour and glorie, worlde without cande.

Amen. This seuenth of December.

Anno dñi.

1560.

Eloquence firſte

GIVEN BY GOD, AND

after loſte by manne, and

laſte repaired by

GOD again.

MAn (in whom is poured the breathe of life) was made at his firſte beyng an euerliuing creature, vnto the likenes of God, endued with reaſon, and appointed Lorde ouer all other thynges liuyng. But after the faule of our firſt Father, ſynne ſo crepte in, that our knowlege was moche darkened, and by corrupcion of this our fleſhe, mannes reaſon and entendimente, were bothe ouerwhelmed. At what tyme God beyng ſore greued with the folie of one manne pitied of his mere goodneſſe, the whole ſtate and poſteritie of mankinde. And therefore (where as through the wicked ſuggeſtion of our Ghoſtlie enemie, the ioyfull fruition of Gods glorie, was altogether loſte:) it pleaſed our heauenlie Father, to repaire mankynde of his free mercie, and to graunte an euerliuyng enheritaunce, vnto all ſoche as would by conſtaunte faithe, ſeeke earneſtlie there after. Long it was, ere that manne knewe hymſelf, beeyng deſtitute of Goddes grace, ſo that all thynges ware ſauage, the yearth vntilled, ſocietie neglected, Goddes wille not knowen, manne againſte manne, one againſte an other, and all againſte order. Some liued by ſpoyle, ſome like brute beaſtes, graſed vpon the grounde, ſome went naked, ſome roumed like Woodoſes, none did any thyng by reaſon, but moſte did what thei could, by manhode. None almoſte, conſidered the euerliuyng GOD, but all liued moſte commonlie after their owne luſte. By death thei thought that all thynges eanded, by life thei looked for none other liuyng. None remembred the true obſeruacion of Wedlocke, none

tendered

tendered the education of their children, Lawes were not regarded, true dealyng was not ones vsed. For vertue, vice bare place, for right and equitie, might vsed authoritie. And therefore, where as manne through reason, might haue vsed order: man through folie fell into errour. And thus for lacke of skill, and for want of grace, euill so preuailed, that the Deuill was moste esteemed, and God either almost vnknowen emong them all, or els nothyng feared emong so many. Therefore, euen now when man was thus past all hope of amendemente, God still tenderyng his owne workemanship, stirred vp his faithefull and electe, to perswade with reason, all menne to societie. And gaue his appointed ministers knowledge, bothe to see the natures of men, and also graunted them the gift of vtteraunce that thei might with ease, winne folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order.

And therefore, where as men liued brutishly in open feldes hauyng neither hous to shroude theim in, nor attire to clothe their backes, nor yet any regard to seke their beste auaile: these appointed of God, called thē together by vtteraunce of speche, and perswaded with them what was good, what was bad, and was gainefull for mankinde. And although at firste, the rude could hardely learne, and either for straungenesse of the thing. would not gladlie receiue the offer, or els for lacke of knowe-ledge, could not perceiue the goodnesse: yet beyng somewhat drawen, and delited with the pleasauntnesse of reason, and the swetenes of vtteraunce: after a certain space, thei became thorowe nurture and good aduisement, of wilde, sober: of cruell, gentle: of fooles, wise: and of beastes, menne: Soche force hath the tongue, and soche is the power of Eloquence and Reason, that moste men are forced, euen to yelde in that, whiche moste standeth againste their wille. And therefore, the Poetes dooe feigne, that Hercules beyng a manne of greate wisedome, had all men linked together by the eares in a chain, to drawe them and leade theim euen as he lusted. For, his witte was so great, his tongue so Eloquente, and his experience soche, that no one manne was hable to withstande his reason, but euery one was

rather

rather driuen to doo that, whiche he would, and to will that, which he did: agreing to his aduise, bothe in woorde and worke, in all that euer thei were hable.

Neither can I see, that menne could haue been brought, by any other meanes, to liue together in fellowshippe of life, to maintaine Cities, to deale truely, and willingly to obeye one an other, if men at the first had not by Arte and eloquence perswaded that, whiche thei full ofte founde out by reason. For, what manne I praie you, beyng better hable to maintain hym self, by valiaunte courage, then by liuyng in base subiection: would not rather loke to rule like a Lorde, then to liue like an vnderling: if by reason he wer not perswaded, that it behoueth euery man, to liue in his awn vocacio: and not to seke any hier rowme, then whereunto he was at the firste appointed? Who would digge and delue, from morne til euenyng? Who would trauaile and toyle, with the sweate of his browes? Yea, who would for his kinges pleasure, aduenture and hassarde his life, if witte had had not so wonne men, that thei thought nothyng more needefull in this worlde, nor any thynge whereunto thei wer more bounden: then here to liue in their dutie, and to train their whole life, accordyng to their callyng. Therefore, whereas menne are in many thynges weake by Nature, and subiect to moche infirmitie: I thinke in this one poincte, thei passe all other creatures liuyng, that thei haue the gifte of speache and reason.

And emong all other, I thinke hym moste worthie fame, and emongest men, to be taken for halfe a GOD: that therein doeth chiefly, and aboue all other, excelle menne, wherein men doe excelle beastes. For, he that is emong thereasonable, of all moste reasonable, and emong the wittie, of all moste wittie, and emong the Eloquente, of all moste Eloquente: him thinke I emong all menne, not onely to bee taken for a singuler man, but rather to be coumpted for haulfe a GOD. For, in sekyng the excellencie hereof, the soner he driueth to perfection, the nigher he commeth to GOD, who is the chief wisedome, and therfore called GOD, bicause he is moste wise, or rather wise-

dome

dome it ſelf.

Now then, ſeyng that GOD giueth his heauenlie grace, vnto all ſoche as call vnto hym with ſtretched handes, and hũble hart, neuer wanting to thoſe, that want not to them ſelues: I purpoſe by his grace and eſpecial aſſiſtence, to ſet forthe ſoche preceptes of eloquence, and to ſhewe what obſeruacion the wiſe haue vſed, in handelyng of their matters: that the vnlearned by ſeing the practiſe of others, maie haue ſome knowledge theim ſelues, and learne by their neighbours deuiſe, what is neceſſarie for theimſelues, in their owne caſe.

¶ Gualterus Haddonus D. Iuris Ciuilis, ET REGINAE MAIE-ſtatis, à Libellis ſupplicibus.

REtoricen Logice ſoror, eſt affata ſororem:
Quem didicit nuper, ſermo Britannus erat.
Retorice tacuit, magno perculſa dolore:
Nam nondum noſtro nouerat ore loqui.
Audijt hæc, Logices, Vuilſonus forte, magiſter:
Qui fuerat, noſtros addideratq; ſonos,
Retoricen mutam, verbis ſolatus amicis:
Seuocat, & rogitat num eſſe Britanna velit?
Deijciens oculos reſpondit velle libenter:
Sed ſe, qua poſsit, non reperire, via.
Ipſe vias [inquit] tradam, legeſq; loquendi:
Quomodo perfectè verba Britanna loces.
Liberat ille fidem, noſtro ſermone politur:
Retorice, noſtra eſt vtraque facta ſoror.
Anglia nobilium ſi charus ſermo ſororum:
Eſt tibi, ſermonis charus & author erit.

¶ Thomas Wilſonus in Angli-cam Rhetoricen ſuam.

ANglia ſi doceat, quod Græcia docta: quid obſtat
Quo minus ex Anglis Anglia, vera ſciat.
Non (quia Greca potes, vel calles verba Latina)
Doctus es, aut ſapiens: ſed quia vera vides.
Aurea ſecreto tegitur ſapientia ſenſu.
Abdita ſenſa tenes Anglus? es ergo ſciens.
Sed mea Rhetoricen nequeat cùm lingua polire:
Cui vacat, hoc vnum quod valet, oro velit.

What is Rhetorique.

RHetorique is an arte to set forthe by vtteraunce of wordes, matter at large, or (as Cicero doeth saie) it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaration of the minde, in the handelyng of any cause, called in contention, that maie through reason largely be discussed.

¶ The matter whereupon an Orator must speake.

AN Orator muste be able to speake fully of all those questions, whiche by lawe and mannes ordinaunce are enacted, and appointed for the vse and profite of man, soche as are thought apt for the tongue to sette forward. Now Astronomie is rather learned by demonstracion, then taught by any great vtteraūce. Arithmetique smally nedeth thuse of eloquence, seyng it maie be had wholy by nombryng onely. Geometrie rather asketh a good square, then a cleane flowyng tongue, to set out the arte. Therfore an Orators profession, is to speake onely, of all soche matters as maie largely be expoūded, for mannes behoue, and maie with moche grace be set out, for all men to heare them.

Rhetorique occupied aboute all lawes, concerning man.

Questions of twoo sortes.

¶ Of Questions.

EVuery question or demaunde in thinges, is of twoo sortes. Either it is an infinite question, and without ende, or els it is definite, and comprehended within some ende.

Those questions are called infinite, whiche generally are propounded, without the comprehension of time, place, and persone, or any soche like: that is to saie, when no certaine thing is named, but onely wordes are generally spoken. As thus, whether it be beste to marie, or to liue single. Whiche is better, a Courtiers life, or a Scolers life.

Questions infinite.

Those questions are called definite, whiche set forthe a matter, with the appointment, and namyng of place, time and persone. As thus. Whether now it bee best here in Englande, for a Priestе to Marie, or to liue single. Whether it were meete for the kynges maiestie, that now is, to marie with a straunger, or to marie with one of his own subiectes.

Questions definite.

Questions definite, belonge properlie to an Orator.

Now the definite question (as the whiche concerneth some one persone) is moste agreyng to the purpose of an Orator consideryng particuler matters in the Lawe, are euer debated betwirt certayne persones, the one affirmyng for his parte, and the other denyng as fast again for his parte.

Questions infinite, proper vnto Logicias.

Thinges generally spoken, without all circumstaunces, are more proper vnto the Logician, who talketh of thinges vniuersally without respecte of persone, time, or place. And yet notwithstãding, Tullie doeth saye, that whosoeuer will talke of a particuler matter, must remember that within the same also, is comprehended a generall. As for example. If I shall aske this question, whether it be lawfull for William Conquerour to inuade Englande, and winne it by force of armour, I must also consider this, whether it be lawfull for any man to vsurpe power, or it bee not lawfull. That if the greater can not be borne withall, the lesse cã not be neither. And in this respecte, a generall question agreeth well to an Orators profession, and ought well to bee knowen, for the better furtheraunce of his matter, notwithstandyng the particuler question, is euer called in controuersie, and the generalle onely thereupon considered, to comprehende and compasse the same, as the whiche is more generall.

The ende of Rhetorique.

Three thinges are required of an Orator.

Orators bound to performe, iii thinges.

To teache.
To delight.
And to perswade.

Firste therefore, an Orator muste labour to tell his tale, that the hearers male well knowe what he meaneth, and vnderstande him wholie, the whiche he shall with ease doe, if he vtter his minde in plain woordes, soche as are vsuallie receiued, and tell it orderlie, without goyng aboute the bushe. That if he doe not this, he shall neuer doe the other. For what man can bee delited, or yet be perswaded, with the onelie hearyng of those thynges, whiche he knoweth not what thei meane. The tongue is ordeined to expresse the minde, that one might vnderstãde an others meanyng: Now what auaileth to speake, when none can tell, what the speaker meaneth? Therfore Phauorinus the Philosophier (as Gellius telleth the tale) did hit a

Plain woordes proper vnto an Orator.

yong

young man ouer the thumbes, verie handsomely for vsyng ouer old, and ouer straunge woordes. Sirha (quhe) when our old greate auncesters and graunsires were aliue, thei spake plainly in their mothers tongue, and vsed olde language, soche as was spoken then, at the buildyng of Roome. But you talke me soche a Latin, as though you spake with them euen now, that wer twoo or three thousande yeres ago, and onely because you would haue no man, to vnderstand what you saie. Now were it not better for thee a thousande folde, (thou foolishe fellowe) in seekyng to haue thy desire, to holde thy peace, and speake nothyng at all? For then by that meanes, fewe should knowe what were thy meaning. But thou saiest, the olde antiquitie dooeth like thee beste, because it is good, sober, and modest. Ah, liue man as thei did before thee and speake thy minde now, as men doe at this daie. And remember that, whiche Cesar saieth, beware as long as thou liuest, of straunge woordes, as thou wouldest take hede and eschue greate rockes in the sea.

A Philosophiers wittie saiyng to a young mā that sought to speake darke language.

The nert part that he hath to plaie, is to chere his gestes and to make theim take pleasure, with hearyng of thynges wittely deuised, and pleasauntlie set forthe. Therefore euery Orator, should earnestly labour to file his tongue, that his woordes maie slide with ease, and that in his deliuerance he maie haue soche grace, as the sounde of a Lute, or any soche instrument dooeth giue. Then his sentences muste bee well framed, and his woordes aptlie vsed, throughout the whole discourse of his Oracion.

Orators muste vse delitefull woordes, and sayynges.

Thirdlie, soche quickneste of witte must bee shewed, and soche pleasaunte sawes so well applied, that the eares maie finde moche delite, whereof I will speake largely, when I shall entreate of mouyng laughter. And assuredlie nothyng is more nedefull, then to quicken theise heaule loden wittes of ours, and moche to cherishe, these our lompishe and vnweldie natures, for excepte menne finde delite, thei will not longe abide: delite theim, and winne theim, wearie theim, and you lose them for euer. And that is the reason, that men commonlie tary the ende of a merie plaie, and can not abide the halfe hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore euen these auncient Preachers, muste now and then plaie the fooles in the pulpite, to serue the tickle eares of their he-

Preachers not so diligentlie heard, as common plaiers.

Preachers must sometymes bee merie, whē thei speake to the people.

tyng audience, or els thei are like some tymes to preache to the bare walles, for though their spirite be apt, and our will prone, yet our flesshe is so beaste, & humours so ouerwhelme vs, that we can not without refreshyng, long abide to heare any one thing. Thus wee se, that to delite is nedefull, without the whiche, weightier matters will not be heard at all, and therefore, hym cunne I thanke, that bothe can and will euer, mingle sweete, emong the sower, be he Preacher, Lawer, yea, or Cooke either hardely, when he dresseth a good disshe of meate: now I nede not to tell that scurrilitie, or Alehouse iestyng, would bee thought odious, or grosse mirthe would be deamed madnesse: considering that euen the mean witted doe knowe that all ready, and as for other, that haue no witte, thei will neuer learne it, therefore God spede thē.

Delitinge nedefull.

Scurrilitie odious.

Affections must be moued.

Now when these twoo are dooen, he muste perswade, and moue the affections of his hearers in soche wise, that thei shall be forced to yelde vnto his saiyng, whereof (because the matter is large, and maie more aptly bee declared, when I shall speake of Amplificacion) I will surcease to speake any thing thereof at this tyme.

By what meanes Eloquence is attained.

First nedefull it is that he, whiche desireth to excell in this gifte of Oratorie, and longeth to proue an eloquent manne, must naturally haue a witte, and an aptnesse thereunto: then muste he to his booke, and learne to be well stored with knowlege, that he maie be able to minister matter, for al causes necessary. The whiche when he hath gotte plentifully, he must vse moche exercise, bothe in writing, and also in speaking. For though he haue a witte, and learnyng together, yet shall thei bothe little auaile, without moche practise. What maketh the Lawier to haue soche vtteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundlie? Practise. Yea, what maketh women go so faste awaie with their woordes? Marie practise I warraunt you. Therefore in all faculties, diligent practise, and earneste exercise, are the onely thinges, that make men proue excellente. Many men knowe the arte verie well, and be in all poinctes throughly grounded, and acquainted with the preceptes, and yet it is not their hap to proue eloquente. And the reason is, that eloquence itself, came not vp first by

Practise maketh all thinges perfecte.

the

the art, but the art rather was gathered vpon eloquence. For wisemen seyng by moche obseruacion, and diligent practise, the compasse of diuers causes, compiled thereupon precepces and lessons, worthie to bee knowen, and learned of all men. Therefore before art was inuented, eloquence was vsed, and through practise made perfect, the whiche in al thinges, is a soueraigne meane, moste highlie to excell.

Rhetorique first made by wisemen, and not wisemen first made by Rhetorique.

Now, before we vse either to write, or speake eloquently, we muste dedicate our mindes wholie, to folowe the moste wise and learned menne, and seeke to fashion, aswell their speache and gesturing, as their witte or enditing. The whiche when we earnestlie minde to do, we can not but in time appere somwhat like them. For if thei that walke moche in the Sonne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the moste parte Sonne burnt, it can not be but that thei, whiche wittyngly and willyngly, trauaile to counterfeate other, muste needes take some colour of theim, and bee like vnto theim, in some one thing or other, accordyng to the Prouerbe, by companyng with the wise, a man shall learne wisedome.

Imitation or folowyng the waies of wise men, is needefull.

¶ To what purpose this art is set forthe.

TO this purpose, and for this vse, is the art compiled together, by the learned and wise menne, that those whiche are ignoraunt, might iudge of the learned, and labour (when tyme should require) to followe their workes accordingly. Again, the art helpeth well to dispose, and order matters of our owne inuencion, the whiche wee maie followe, aswell in speakyng, as in wrytyng, for though many by nature without art, haue proued worthie men, yet is art a surer guide, then nature, considerying wee se as lyuelie by the art, what wee doe, as though wee red a thing in writting, whereas natures doynges are not so open to all men. Againe, those that haue good wittes, by nature, shall better encrease them by art, and the blunt also shall be whetted through art, that want nature to help thē forward.

Rhetorique, to what purpose it serueth

Arte, surer guide then nature.

¶ Fiue thynges to be considered in an Orator.

ANy one that will largelie handle any matter, muste fasten his minde firste of all, vpon these fiue especiall poinctes that followe, and learne theim euery one.

Orators must haue v. thynges to make them perfecte.

i. Inuencion of matter.
ij. Disposicion of the same.
iij. Elocucion.
iiij. Memorie.
v. Vtteraunce.

Inuencion, what it is.

THE findyng out of apte matter, called otherwise Inuencion, is a searchyng out of thynges true, or thynges likelie, the whiche maie reasonable sette forthe a matter, and make it appere probable. The places of Logique, giue good occasion to finde out plentifull matter. And therefore, thei that will preue any cause, and seke onely to teache thereby the truthe, must search out the places of Logique, and no doubte thei shall finde moche plentie. But what auaileth moche treasure and apt matter, if man can not applie it to his purpose. Therefore, in the seconde place is mencioned, the settelyng or orderyng of thinges inuented for this purpose, called in Latine, Dispositio, the whiche is nothyng els, but an apte bestowyng, and orderly placing of thinges, declaryng where euery argument shalbe set, and in what maner euery reason shalbe applied, for confirmacion of the purpose.

Disposicion, what it is.

But yet what helpeth it, though we can finde good reasons, and knowe how to place theim, if wee haue not apte woordes, and picked sentences, to commende the whole matter. Therefore, this point must needes folowe, to beautifie the cause, the whiche beyng called Elocucio, is an applyng of apte woordes and sentences to the matter, founde out to confirme the cause. When all these are had together, it auaileth little, if manne haue no memorie, to conteine them. The Memorie therefore muste be cherished, the whiche is a faste holdyng, bothe of matter and woordes couched together, to confirme any cause.

Elocucion, what it is.

Memorie, what it is.

Be it now, that one haue all these fower, yet if he wante the fift, al the other doe little profite. For though a man can finde out good matter, and good woordes, though he can handsomely set them together, and carie theim very well awaie in his minde, yet it is to no purpose, if he haue no vtteraunce, when he should speake his minde, and shewe men what he hath to saie. Vtteraunce therefore, is a frampyng of the voice, countenaunce, and gesture, after a comely maner.

Pronunciacio, what it is

Thus

Thus we se, that euery one of these must go together, to make a perfecte Orato^r, and that the lacke of one, is an hinderaunce of the whole, and that aswell all maie be wanting as one, if we loke to haue an absolute Orato^r.

¶ There are seuen partes in euery Oracion.

Oracions in general, consist vpon vii. partes.

i. The Enteraunce or beginnyng.
ii. The Narracion.
iii. The Propositon.
iiii. The Deuision or seuerall partyng of thynges
v. The Confirmacion.
vi. The Confutacion.
vij. The Conclusion.

Enteraunce, what it is.

The Enteraunce or beginnyng, is the former parte of the Oracion, wherby the will of the standers by, or of the Iudge is sought for, and required to heare the matter.

Narracion.

The Narracion, is a plain and manifest poincting of the matter, and an euidente settyng foorthe of all thynges, that belong vnto thesame, with a briefe rehearsall, grounded vpon some reason.

Propositon.

The Propositon is a pithie sentence, comprehendyng in a small roume, the somme of the whole matter.

Diuision.

The Deuision, is an openyng of thinges, wherein we agree and rest vpon, and wherein we sticke, and stand in trauers, shewyng what we haue to saie, in our owne behalfe.

Confirmacio

The Confirmacion, is a declaracio of our owne reasons, with assured and constaunt proofes.

Confutacion.

The Confutacion, is a dissoluyng or wippyng awaie, of al soche reasons, as make against vs.

Conclusion.

The Conclusion, is a clarkely gatheryng of the matter, spoken before, and a lappyng vp of it altogether.

Now, bicause in euery one of these, greate hede ought to bee had, and moche art must be vsed, to content and like all parties: I purpose in the second booke, to set forthe at large, euery one of these, that bothe we maie knowe in all partes, what to followe, and what to eschue. And firste, when tyme shalbe to talke of any matter, I would aduise euery man, to conuider the nature of the cause self, that the rather he might frame his whole Oracion thereafter.

¶ Euery matter is contained in one of these fower.

Matters in general, stãde in iiii. pointes

EIther it is an honeste thyng, whereof we speake, or els it is filthie and vile, or els betwirte bothe: and doubtfull, what is to be called, or els it is some trifelyng matter, that is of smali weight.

Matters i. honeste.

That is called an honest matter, when either we take in hande suche a cause, that all menne would maintain, or els gainsaie suche a cause, that no man can well like.

Matters, ii. filthie.

When dooe wee holde and defende a filthie matter, when either wee speake againste our owne conscience, in an euill matter, or els withstande an vpright truthe.

Matters iii. doubtfull.

The cause then is doubtfull, when the matter is half honest, and halfe vnhoneste.

Matters iiii. trifelyng.

Suche are trifling causes, when there is no weight in thē as if one should phantasie, to praise a Gose, before any other beast liuing (as I knowe who did) or of fruicte to commende Nuttes chiefly, as Ouid did, or the feuer quartain, as Phauorinus did, or the Gnatte, as Virgill did, or the battaile of Frogges, as Homere did, or dispraise beardes, or commend shauen heddes.

¶ Good hede to be taken at the first, vpon the hand dyng of any matter in iudgement.

NOt onelie it is necessarie to knowe, what maner of cause we haue taken in hande, when we firste enter vpon any matter, but also it is wisedome, to consider the tyme, the place, the manne for whom wee speake, the man againste whom we speake, the matter whereof we speake, and the Iudges before whom wee speake, the reasons that beste serue to further our cause, and those reasons also, that maie seme somwhat to hinder our cause, and in nowise to vse any suche at all, or els warely to mitigate by protestacion, the euill that is in them, and alwaies to vse whatsoeuer can bee saied, to winne the chief hearers good willes, and perswade theim to our purpose. If the cause goe by fauour, and that reason cannot so moche auaile, as good wil shalbe able to do: or els if mouing affections can do more good, then bringyng in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to vse that waie, whereby we maie by good helpe, gette the ouer hande. That if mine aduersaries reasons, by me being confuted,

Circumstances necessarie in all causes to be noted.

Fauor winnyng, and affections moouyng, when they are moste necessarie.

confuted, serue better to helpe forward my cause, then mine owne reasons confirmed, can be able to doo good: I should wholy bestowe my tyme, and trauaill to weaken and make feble, all that euer he bringeth with him. But if I can with more ease, proue myne owne sayynges, either with witnesses, or with woordes, then be able to confute his with reason, I muste labour to withdrawe mennes myndes, from myne aduersaries foundacion, and require theim wholy to herken vnto that, whiche I haue to saie, beyng of it self so iuste and so reasonable, that none can rightly speake againste it, and shewe them that greate pitie it were, for lacke of the onelie hearyng, that a true matter, should want true dealyng. Ouer & besides all these, there remain two lessons, the whiche wisemen haue alwaies obserued, and therefore ought of all men, assuredly to be learned. The one is, that if any matter be laied againſt vs, whiche by reason can hardly be auoided or the whiche is so open, that none almoste can deny, it wer wisedome in confutyng all the other reasons, to passe ouer this one, as though we sawe it not, and therefore speake neuer a woorde of it. Or els if necessitie shall force a man to saie somewhat, he maie make an outwarde bragge, as though there were no matter in it, euer so speaking of it, as though he would stande to the triall, making menne to beleue, he would fight in the cause, when better it were (if necessitie so required) to run cleane awaie. And therein though a manne doe flie & giue place, euermore the gladder, the lesse raueyng there is, or stirryng in this matter: yet he flieth wisely, and for this ende, that beyng fensed otherwise, and strongly appointed, he maie take his aduersarie at the best aduauntage or at the least, weary hym with moche lingeryng, and make hym with oft soche fliyng, to forsake his chief defence.

Aduersaries reasons, whē they should best be confuted.

Argumentes when they should chiefly be vsed.

Matters hard to auoid should alwaie be passe ouer, as though we sawe them not at all.

Good to bee bold in moste daunger, if otherwise wee can not escape

The other lesson is, that whereas we purpose alwaies to haue the victorie, we should so speake, that wee maie labour rather not to hinder, or hurt our cause, then to seke meanes to further it. And yet I speake not this, but that bothe these are right necessarie, and euery one that will doe good, must take paines in them bothe, but yet notwithstandyng, it is a fouler faulte a greate deale, for an Orator to be founde hurting his owne cause, then it should turne to his rebuke, if he had not furthered his whole entent. Therefore not onely is

Bitter not to hurte a good matter, by ill speach, then to further it by good talke.

warenesse in speaking, and forbearyng to speake.

it wisedome, to speake so moche as is nedefull, but also it is good reason, to leaue vnspoken, so moche as is nedelesse, the whiche although the wisest can doe, and nede no teachyng, yet these common wittes, offende moche now and then, in this behalfe. Some man beyng stirred, shall hurte more our cause, then twentie other. Tauntyng woordes before some men, will not be borne at all. Sharpe rebukyng of our aduersarie, or frumpes giuen before some persones: can not be suffred at all. Yea, sometymes a manne muste not speake all that he knoweth, for if he doe, he is like to finde small fauor, although he haue iuste cause to speake, and mate with reason declare his minde at large. And albeit that witles folke, can soner rebuke that, whiche is fondly spoken, then reddie praise that, whiche is wisely kepte close, yet the necessitie of the matter, muste rather bee marked, then the fonde iudgement of the people esteemed. What a fore saiyng were this? When a Lawier should take in hande a matter, concerning life and death, and an other should aske how he hath sped, to heare tell that the Lawier, hath not onely cast awate his client, but vndoen hymself also, in speakyng thynges inconsiderately, as no doubte it often happeneth, that wisemen, and those also that be none euil men neither, mate vnwares speake thynges, whiche afterward thei fore repent, & would call backe again, with losse of a greate somme. Now what a folye it is, not to remember the tyme, and the men. Or who will speake that, whiche he knoweth will not be liked, if he purpose to finde fauour at their handes, before whō he speaketh, what man of reason, will praise that before the Iudges (before whom he knoweth, the determinatiō of his cause resteth) whiche the Iudges selfe can not abide, to heare spoken at all? Or doeth not he moche hinder his owne matter, that without all curtesie, or preface made, will largely speake euill of those men, whom the hearers of his cause, tenderly doe fauor? Or be it that there be some notable fault in thine aduersarie, with whiche the Iudges also are infected, were it not folye for thee, to charge thine aduersary with the same. Considering the Iudges thereby mate thinke, thou speakest against theim also, and so thou mayest perhaps, lose their fauour in sekyng soche defence, made without all discretion. And in framyng reasons, to confirme the purpose, if any be spoken

The persone before whom we speake, muste be well marked.

Tyme must be obserued.

spoken plainly false, or els contrary to that, whiche was spoken before, doeth it not moche hinder a good matter? Therfore in all causes, this good hede ought to be had, that alwayes we labour to doe some good, in furthering of our cause, or if we can not so do, at the least that we do no harme at al.

¶ There are three kindes of causes, or Orations, whiche serue for euery matter.

Orations, or causes of three kindes.

NOthyng can be handeled by this arte, but the same is conteined, within one of these three causes. Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise of a thing, or els in cõsultyng, whether the cause be profitable, or vnprofitable, or lastly, whether the matter be right or wrong. And yet this one thyng is to bee learned, that in euery one of these three causes, these three seuerall endes, male euery one of them be cõteined, in any one of them. And therefore, he that shall haue cause to praise any one bodie, shall haue iuste cause to speake of iustice, to entreate of profite, and iointly to talke of one thing with an other. But because these three causes, are cõmonly and for the moste part, seuerally parted, I will speake of them, one after an other, as thei are set forthe by wise mennes iudgementes, and particularly declare their properties, all in order.

Oration Demonstratiue.

The Oration demonstratiue, standeth either in praise, or dispraise of some one manne, or of some one thyng, or of some one deede doen.

¶ The kinde Demonstratiue, wherein chiefly it is occupied.

THere are diuerse thynges, whiche are praised, and dispraised, as men, countries, citees, places, beastes hilles, riuers, houses, castles, deedes doen by worthie men, and policies inuẽted by greate warriers but moste commonly men are praised, for diuerse respectes, before any of the other thynges are taken in hande.

Noble personages, how thei should be praised.

Now in praisyng a noble personage, and in settyng forth at large his worthines, Quintilian giueth warnyng, to vse this threfolde order.

To obserue thynges,
- Before his life.
- In his life.
- After his death.

Before

Before a mannes life, are considered these places.

- The Realme.
- The Shire.
- The Toune.
- The Parentes.
- The Auncestours.

As a mannes life, praise muste bee parted threfolde. That is to saie, into the giftes of good thynges of the minde, the body, and of fortune. Now the giftes of the body, and of fortune, are not praise worthy, of their owne nature: but euen as thei are vsed, either to, or fro, so thei are either praised, or dispraised. Giftes of the mynde, deserue the whole trumpe, and sound commendacion aboue all other, wherein we maie vse the rehearsall of vertues, as thei are in order, and beginnyng at his infancie, tell all his doynges, till his last age.

¶ The places whereof are these.

Wherunto ar referred these.

- The birthe, and infancie.
  - Whether the person be a man, or a woman.
- The childhode.
  - The bringyng vp, the nurturyng, and the behauour of his life.
- The stripelyng age, or spryng tide.
  - To what studie he taketh himself vnto, what companie he vseth, how he liueth.
- The mannes state.
  - Prowesses doen, either abrode, or at home.
- The olde age.
  - His pollicies and wittie deuises, in behoue of the publique weale.
- The time of his departure, or death.
  - Thynges that haue happened aboute his death.

Now to open all these places more largelie, aswell those that are before a mannes life, as soche as are in his life, and after his death, that the reader maie further

ther se the profite, I will doe the beste I can.

The house whereof a noble personage came, declares the state and natures of his auncestors, his alliaunce, and his kynsfolke. So that suche worthy feates, as they haue heretofore doen, and all suche honors, as they haue had, for suche their good seruice, redownde wholye to the encrease and amplifying of his honour, that is now liuyng. The house of auncestrie where of a noble personage cometh

The Realme, declares the nature of the people. So that some Countrey bryngeth more honor with it, then another doth. To be a Frenche manne, descendyng there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irishe manne: to be an Englishe manne borne, is muche more honour, then to be a Scotte, because that by these men, worthy prowesses haue been doen, and greater affaires by theim attempted, then haue been doen by any other. ii. The Realme.

The Shire or Toune helpeth somewhat, towardes the encrease of honour: As it is muche better, to bee borne in Paris, then in Picardie, in London then in Lincolne. For that bothe the ayre is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth muche greater, and the menne for the moste parte more wise. iii. The Shire of Toune.

To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakenes of spirite, nesshenes of body, end fikilnesse of mynde. iiii. The sexe of kynde.

Now for the bringing vp of a noble personage, his nurse muste be considered, his plaie felowes obserued, his teacher and other his seruauntes, called in remembraunce. Howe euery one of these lyued then, with whom they haue lyued afterwardes, and how they liue now. v. Education.

By knowyng what he taketh himself vnto, and wherein he moste deliteth, I maie commende hym for his learnyng, for his skill in the Frenche, or in the Italian, for his knowlege in Cosmographie: for his skill in the lawes, in the histories of all countreis, and for his gifte of enditying. Again, I maie commende hym for plaiyng at weapons, for runnyng vpon a greate horse, for chargyng his staffe at the Tilte, for vautyng, for plaiyng vpon instrumentes, yea, and for paintyng, or drawyng of a platte, as in old tyme noble princes, muche delited therein. vi. Inclination of nature.

Prowesse doen, declare his seruice to the kyng, and his vii. attempted worthy.

countrey,

countrey, either in withstandyng the outwarde enemie, or els in aswagyng the rage of his awne coũtreymẽ at home.

viii. His wise counsaill, and good aduise geuen, settes furthe the godnesse of his witte.

Tyme of fr. departyng this worlde. At the tyme of his departyng, his sufferaunce of all sicknesse, may muche commende his worthinesse. As his strong harte, and therefull patience euen to the ende, cannot want greate praise. The loue of all men towardes hym, and the lamentyng generally for his lacke, helpe well moste highly to set furthe his honour.

After departure After a mannes death, are considered his tombe, his cote armour set vp, and all suche honours, as are vsed in funeralles. If any one liste, to put these preceptes in practise, he maie dooe, as hym liketh best. And surely I do thynke, that nothyng so muche furthereth knowlege, as daiely exercise, and enurynge our selfes to do that in dede, whiche we know in woorde. And because examples geue greate lighte, after these preceptes are set furthe, I will commende two noble gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and his brother lorde Charles Duke with hym.

Duke of Suffolke, and lorde Charles.

An example of commendyng a noble personage.

Better or more wisely can none do then they whiche neuer bestowe praise, but vppon those that best deserue praise, rather myndyng discretely, what they ought to dooe, then vainly deuisyng what they best can doo, seekyng rather to praise menne, suche as are founde worthy, then courtously findyng meanes to praise matters, such as neuer wer in any. For they which speake otherwise then truthe is, mynd not the commendacion of the persone, but the settyng furthe of their awne learnyng. As Gorgias in Plato, praisyng vnrighteousnes, Heliogabalus Dratours, commendyng whoredome, Phauorinus the Philosophier, extollyng the feuer Quartaine, thought not to speake as the cause required, but woulde so muche saie as their wit woulde geue, not weighyng the state of the cause, but myndyng the vaunte of their brain, lokyng how muche could be said, not passyng howe litle shoulde be saied. But I bothe knowyng the might of Gods hand, for suche as loue fables, and the shame that in yearth redoundeth to euill reporters, will not commende that in those, whiche nede no good praise

Gorgias. Heliogabalus. Phauorinus.

but

but will commende them, that no man iustly can dispraise, nor yet any one is well able worthely to praise. Their towardnes was suche, and their giftes so great, that I knowe none whiche loue learnyng, but hath sorowed the lacke of their beeing, And I knowe that the onely naming of theim, will stirre honest hartes, to speake well of thē. I will speake of twoo brethren, that lately departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the other Lord Charles his brother, whom God thinkyng meter for beauē, then to liue here vpō yearth, toke from vs in his anger, for the betteryng of our doinges, and amendement of our euill liuing. These twoo gētlemen were borne in noble England, bothe by father and mother, of an high parentage. The father called duke Charles, by marlage beyng brother, to the worthy kyng of famous memorie, Henry theigh, was in suche fauour, and did suche seruice, that all England at this houre, doeth finde his lacke, and Fraunce yet doeth feele, that suche a Duke there was, whom in his life tyme, the godly, loued: the euill, feared, the wise men, honored for his wit, and the simple, vsed alwaies for their counsaill. Their mother, of birthe noble, and witte great, of nature gētle, and mercifull to the poore, and to the godly, and especially to the learned, an earnest good Patronesse, and moste helpyng Ladye aboue all other. In their youthe their father died, the eldest of them beyng not past. ir. yeres of age. After whose death, their mother knowing, that welth with out wit, is like a sworde in a naked mānes hand, and assuredly certain, that knowlege would confirme iudgement, prouided so for their bringing vp, in all vertue and learnyng, that. ij. like were not to be had, within this realme again. When they began bothe, to ware somewhat in yeres, beyng in their primetide, and spryng of their age, thelder waityng of the kynges maiestie that nowe is, was generally well estemed, and suche hope was conceiued of his towardnes, bothe for learnyng, and all other thinges, that fewe wer like vnto hym in all the courte. The other keepyng his boke, emong the Cambrige mē, profited (as they all well knowe) both in vertue and learning, to their greate admiracion. For the Greke, the Latine, and the Italian, I knowe he could doe more, then would be thought true by my report. I leaue to speke of his skill in pleasaunt instru-

Henry duke of Suffolke, and lorde Charles his brother.

mentes,

mentes, neither will I vtter his aptnes in Muſike, and hys toward nature, to all exercyſes of the body. But his elder brother in this tyme (beſides his other giftes of the mynde, whiche paſſed all other, and were almoſte incredible) folowyng his fathers nature, was ſo delited with ridyng, and runnyng in armour vppon horſebacke, and was ſo comely for that feacte, and coulde do ſo well in chargyng his ſtaffe, beyng but xiiij. yeres of age, that menne of warre, euen at this houre, mone muche the wāt of ſuche a worthy gētlemā. Yea, the Frenche men that firſt wondered at his learnyng, when he was there emong theim, and made a notable Oracion in Latine: were muche more aſtonied when they ſawe his comely ridyng, and litle thought to finde theſe twoo ornamentes, ioyned bothe in one, his yeres eſpecially beyng ſo tender, and his practiſe of ſo ſmall tyme. Afterward comming from the court, as one that was deſirous to be emeng the learned, he laie in Cambrige together with his brother, where they bothe ſo profited, and ſo gently vſed themſelfes, that al Cambrige did reuerence, bothe him and his brother, as two ieweles ſent frō God. The elders nature was ſoche, that he thought himſelf beſt, when he was emōg the wiſeſt, and yet contempned none, but thankefully vſed all, gentle in behauor without childiſhines, ſtout of ſtomacke without all pride, bolde with all warenelle, and frendly with good aduiſemente. The yonger beeyng not ſo ripe in yeres, was not ſo graue in looke, rather cherefull, then ſadde: rather quicke, then aunciente: but yet if his brother were ſet a ſide, not one that went beyonde hym. A childe, that by his owne inclinacion, ſo moche yelded to his ruler, as ſelue by chaſtemente, haue doen the like: pleaſaunt of ſpeache, prompte of witte, ſtirryng by nature, hault without hate, kind without crafte, liberall of harte, gentle in behauiour, forwarde in all thinges, gredie of learnyng, and lothe to take a foile, in any open aſſembly. Thei bothe in all attemptes, ſought to haue the victorie, and in exerciſe of witte, not onely the one with the other, did ofte ſtande in contencion, but alſo thei bothe would matche with the beſt, and thought themſelues moſte happie, when thei might haue any iuſt occaſion, to put their wittes in triall. And now when this grene fruicte began to ware ripe, and all menne longed to haue taſte, of ſoche their

greate

greate forwardnesse: God preuenting mannes expectacion, tooke theim bothe aboute one houre, and in so shorte tyme, that first thei were knowen to be dedde, or any abrode could tell thei were sicke. I neede not to rehearse, what bothe thei spake, before their departure (considering, I haue seuerally written, bothe in Latine and in Englishe, of thesame matter) neither will I heape here so moche together, as I can, bicause I should rather renewe great sorowe to many, then doe moste men any greate good, who loued them so well generally, that fewe for a greate space after, spake of these .ij. gentlemen, but thei shewed teares, with the onely vtterance of their woordes, and some through ouer moche sorowyng, wer fain to forbeare speaking. God graunt vs all so to liue, that the good men of this worlde, maie bee alwaies lothe to forsake vs, and God maie stil be glad to haue vs, as no doubt these twoo children so died, as all men should wishe to liue, and so thei liued bothe, as all should wishe to dye. Seeyng therefore, these twoo were soche, bothe for birthe, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that the like are hardely found behynde theim: Let vs so speake of theim, that our good reporte maie warne vs, to followe their godlie natures, and that lastlie, wee maie enioye that inheritaunce, wherevnto God hath prepared theim and vs (that feare hym) from the beginnyng. Amen.

The partes of an Oracion, made in praise of a man.
- The Enteraunce.
- The Narracion.
- Sometymes the confutacion.
- The Conclusion.

IF any one shall haue iuste cause, to dispraise an euil man, he shall sone do it, if he can praise a good man. For (as Aristotle dooeth saie) of contraries, there is one and thesame doctrine, and therefore, he that can doe the one, shall sone be able to doe the other.

Of an Oracion demonstratiue, for some deede dooen.

THE kinde demonstratiue of some thyng dooen, is this, when a man is commended, or dispraised, for any acte, committed in his life. Oracion demonstratiue of a deede.

¶ The places to confirme this cause, when any one is commended, are sixe in nomber.

The places of confirmacion.
- j. It is honest.
- ij. It is possible.
- iij. Easie to be doen.
- iiij. Harde to be doen.
- v. Possible to be doen.
- vj. Impossible to be doen.

Seuen circumstaunces, whiche are to be considered in diuerse matters.

The circumstaunces.
- j. Who did the deede.
- ij. What was doen.
- iij. Where it was doen.
- iiij. What helpe had he to it.
- v. Wherefore he did it.
- vj. How he did it.
- vij. At what tyme he did it.

¶ The circumstaunces in Metre.

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:
Why, how, and when, doe many thynges disclose.

THese places help wonderfully, to set out any matter, and to amplifie it to the vttermoste, not onely in prayssing, or dispraysing, but also in al other causes, where any aduisement is to bee vsed. Yet this one thyng is to be learned, that it shall not bee necessarie, to vse them altogether, euen as thei stande in order: but rather as time and place shall best require, thei maie be vsed in any parte of the Oracion, euen as it shall please hym, that hath the vsing of them. Again, if any man be disposed, to rebuke any offence, he maie vse the places contrary vnto them, that are aboue rehearsed, and applie these circumstaunces, euen as thei are, to the proofe of his purpose.

¶ An example of commendyng kyng Dauid, for killyng greate Goliah, gathered and made, by obseruacion of circumstaunces.

Dauid commended for killyng Goliah.

GOD beyng the author of mankinde, powryng into hym the breathe of life, and framyng hym of clate, in soche a comely wise, as wee all nowe see, hath from the beginnyng, been so carefull ouer his electe and chosen, that in all daungers, he is euer readie

to

to assist his people, keppng them harmeleſſe, when thei wer often past all mannes hope. And emong all other his fatherly goodneſſe, it pleased hym to shewe his power, to his chosen seruaunte Dauid, that all mighte learne to knowe his might, and reken with theim selues, that though man giue the stroke, yet God it is that giueth the ouerhād. For whereas Dauid was of small stature, weake of body, poore of birth and base in the sight of the worldlinges, God called him first to matche with an houge monster, a little bodie, againste a mightie Giaunte, an abiecte Israelite, against a moste baliaunte Philistine, with whom no Israelite durst encounter. These Philistines minded, the murther and ouerthrowe, of all the Israelites, trustyng in their owne strength so mocbe that thei feared no perill, but made an accoumpte, that all was theirs before hande. Now whē bothe these armies wer in sight, the Philistines vpon an hill, of the one side, and the Israelites vpon an hille, of the other side, a vale beeyng betwirte theim bothe, there marched out of the Campe, a base borne Philistine, called Goliah of Geth, a man of sire cubites high. This soldiour, when through his bigneſſe, and stature of his body, and also with greate bragges, and terrible threatenynges, he had wonderfully abashed the whole armie of the Israelites, so that no man durste aduenture vpon hym. GOD to the ende he might deliuer Israel, and shewe that mannes helpe, with all his armour, little auaile to get victorie, without his especiall grace: and againe, to the ende he might set vp Dauid, and make hym honourable emong the Israelites, did then call out Dauid, the sonne of Ephrateus, of Bethleem Juda, whose name was Isai, who beyng but a childe in yeres, did kille out of hande, by Gods might and power, Goliah the meſte terrible enemie of all other, that bare hate againste the children of Israell. When this mightie felowe was slain, aboute the vale of Terebinthus, betwirt both the armies, the Israelites reioyſed, that before quaked, and wondered at him then, whom thei would scant knowe before, and no doubt this deede was not onely wonderfull, but also right godly. For in battalle to kille an enemie, is thought right worthie, or to aduenture vpon a rebel (though the succeſſe followe not) is generally commended: yea, to put one to the worſe, or to make him flie the ground,

Who? Dauid against Goliah.

What? Dauid killed Goliah.

Where? About ỹ vale of Terebinthus.

is called manly, but what shall wee saie of Dauid, that not onely had the better hande, not onely bette his enemie, but killed streight his enemie, yea, and not an enemie, of the cō-mon stature of men, but a mightie Giaunte, not a man, but a monster, yea, a deuill in harte, and a beast in body? Can any be compted more honeste, then soche as seke to saue their countrey, by hassarding their carcasses, and shedyng of their bloode? Can loue shewe it self greater, then by yeldyng of life, for the health of an armie? It had been moche, if halfe a dosen had dispatched, soche a terrible Giaunte, but nowe, when Dauid without helpe, beeyng not yet a manne, but a boye in yeres, sleweth hym hande to hande, what iuste praise dooeth he deserue? If wee praise other, that haue slaine euill men, and compte theim haulte, that haue killed their matches, what shall we saie of Dauid, that beyng wonderfully ouermatched, made his partie good, and gotte the Gole of a Monster? Lette other praise Hercules, that thinke beste of hym: lette Cesar, Alexander, and Hannibal, bee bruted for warriers: Dauid in my iudgemente, bothe did more manly, then all the other wer able, and serued his countrey in greater daunger, then euer any one of theim did. And shall wee not call soche a noble capitaine, a good man of warre? Deserueth not his manhode and stoute attempte, wonderfull praise? If vertue could speake, would she not sone confesse, that Dauid had her in full possession? And therefore, if well doynges, by right maie chalenge worthie brute, Dauid wil be knowen, and neuer can want due praise, for soche an honest deede. And what man will not saie, but that Dauid did mynde nothyng els herein, but the saufegarde of his countrey, thinkyng it better for hymself to dye, and his countrey to liue, then hymself to liue, and his countrey to dye. What gain gotte Dauid, by the death of Goliah, or what could he hope, by the death of soche a monster, but onely that the loue whiche he bare to the Israelites, forced hym to hassarde his owne life: thinkyng that if the Philistines should preuaile, the Israelites were like to perishe, euery mothers soonne of theim? Therefore, he hassardyng this attempte, considered with hymself, the saufegarde of the Israelites, the maintaynaunce of Iustice, his duetie towardes God, his obedience to his Prince, and his loue to his countrey. And no doubte,

Dauides enterprise, honest & godlie.

By what helpe, and by whose? alone and without the helpe of any mā liuyng

Dauides enterprise, praise worthie.

Why? for the saufegarde of his countrey.

Dauides enterprise, profitable to him self and his countrey.

God

GOD made this enterprise appere full easie, before Dauid could haue the hart, to matche himself with soche a one. For though his harte might quake, beyng voide of Gods helpe, yet assuredly he wanted no stomacke, when God did set hym on. Let tirauntes rage, let hel stand open, let Sathan shewe his might, if GOD bee with vs, who can bee againste vs? Though this Goliah appered so strong, that tenne Dauides were not able, to stande in his hande: yet ten Goliahs were al ouer weake for Dauid alone. Man can not iudge, neither can reason comprehende, the mightie power of God. Dauides enterprise, appereth easie to hymself.

When Pharao with all his armie, thought fullie to destroye the children of Israell, in the redde sea, did not GOD preserue Moses, and destroied Pharao? What is man, and all his power that he can make, in the handes of God, vnto whom al creatures, bothe in heauen and in yearth, are subiecte at his commaundement? Therefore, it was no maistery for Dauid, beyng assisted with God, aswell to matche with the whole armie, as to ouerthrowe this one man. But what did the Israelites, when thei sawe Dauid take vppon hym, soche a bold enterprise? Some said he was rashe, other mocked hym to scorne, and his brethren called hym foole. For thought thei, what a madde felowe is he, beyng but a ladde in yeres, to matche with soche a monster in bodie? How can it bee possible otherwise, but that he shal bee torne in peces, euen at the firste commyng? For if the Philistine maie ones hit hym, he is gone, though he had ten mennes liues. Now what should he meane, so vnegally to matche himself, except he were, wearie of his life, or els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to giue his enemies, all the aduauntage that could be, he came vnarmed, and wheras the Philistine, had very strong armour, bothe to defende hymself, and a strong weapon to fight withall: Dauid came with a sling onely, as though he would kill Crowes, whereat, not onely the Philistine laughed, and disdained his folye, but also bothe the armies thought, he was but a deade man, before he gaue one stroke. And in deede, by all reason and deuise of man, there was none other waie, but death with him, out of hand. Dauid notwithstandyng, beeyng kindeled in harte, with Gods might, was strong enough for hym, in his owne opinion, & forced nothyng, though all other were mochе against hym. Dauides enterprise, accepted of his frendes. hard & impossible. How? with a slyng.

And therefore, made no more a doe, but beyng readie to reuenge in Gods name, sothe greate blasphemie, as the Philistine then did vtter: marched towards his enemy, and with castyng a stone out of a slyng, he ouerthrewe the Philistine at the firste. The whiche, when he had doone, out with his swoorde, and chopt of his hedde, caryng it with his armour, to the campe of the Israelites: whereat the Philistines were greatly astonied, and the Israelites moche praised God, that had giuen sothe grace, to sothe a one, to compasse sothe a deede. And the rather this manly acte, is highly to be praised because he subdued this bouge enemie, when Saul firste reigned kyng ouer Israel, and was sore assaied with the great armie of the Philistines. Lette vs therefore that bee now liuing, when this acte or sothe like, come into our mindes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he is, and lette vs praise GOD in theim, by whom he hath wrought sothe wonders, to the strengthenyng of our faithe, and constaunt keping of our profession, made to him, by euery one of vs, in our Baptisme.

¶ Examinyng of the circumstaunces.

i. Who did the deede?

DAuid beyng an Israelite, did this deede, being the sonne of Isai, of the tribe of Iuda, a boye in yeres. This circumstaunce was vsed, not onely in the narration, but also when I spake of the honestie and Godlinesse, whiche Dauid vsed, when he slue Goliah.

ij. What was doen?

He slue Goliah, the strongest Giaunte emong the Philistines. This circumstaunce I vsed also, when I spake of the honestie, in killyng Goliah.

iij. Where was it doen?

About the vale of Terebinthus.

iiij. What helpe had he to it?

He had no help of any man, but went hymself alone. And whereas Saule offered hym harneis, he caste it awaie, and trustyng onely in God, tooke hym to his slyng, with fower or fiue small stones in his hande, the whiche were thought nothyng in mannes sight, able either to dooe little good, or els nothyng at all. This circumstaunce I vsed, whē I spake of the easinesse and possibilitie, that was in Dauid, to kille

Goliah

Goliah, by Gods helpe.

v. Wherefore did he it?

He aduentured his life, for the loue of his Countrey, for the maintenaunce of iustice, for the aduauncement of Gods true glory, and for the quietnesse of al Israel, neither seking fame, nor yet loking for any gaine. I vsed this circumstance when I shewed what profite he soughte, in aduenturyng this deede.

vj. How did he it?

Marie, he put a stone in his slyng, and when he had caste it at the Philistine, Goliah fell doun straight. I vsed this circumstaunce, when I spake of the impossibilitie of the thing.

vij. What tyme did he it?

This deede was doen, whē Saul reigned first kyng ouer the Israelites, at what tyme the Philistines came againste the Israelites. Thus by the circumstaunces of thynges, a right worthie cause, maie be plentifully enlarged.

¶ Of the Oration demonstratiue, where thynges are set forthe, and matter commended.

THE kinde demonstratiue of thynges, is a meane whereby wee doo praise, or dispraise thynges, as vertue, vice, Tounes, citees, castles, woddes, waters, hilles, and mountaines.

¶ Places to confirme thynges, are fower.

Places of confirmation.
- j. Thynges honest.
- ij. Profitable.
- iij. Easie to be doen.
- iiij. Hard to be doen.

MAny learned, will haue recourse to the places of Logique, in stede of these fower places, whē thei take in hande to cōmende any seche matter. The which places, if thei make them serue, rather to commēde the matter, then onely to teache men the truthe of it, it wer well doen, and Oratourlike, for seyng a man wholly bestoweth his witte to plaie the Oratour, he should chiefly seke to compasse that, whiche he entendeth, and not do that onely, whiche he neuer minded, for, by plaine teachyng, the Logician shewes hymself, by large amplification, and beautifyng of his cause, the Rhetorician is alwaies knowne.

¶ The places of Logique are these.

- Definicion.
- Causes.
- Partes.
- Effectes.
- Thynges adioynyng.
- Contraries.

Logique must be learned for confirmacion of causes.

I Doe not se otherwise, but that these places of Logique, are confounded with the other fower of confirmacion, or rather I thinke these of Logique must firste be minded, ere the other can well be had. For what is he, that can call a thing honest, and by reason proue it, except he first knowe what the thing is: the whiche he can not better doe, then by definyng the nature of the thyng. Again, how shall I knowe, whether myne attempte be easie, or hard, if I knowe not the efficient cause, or be assured how it maie bee dooen. In affirming it to bee possible, I shall not better knowe it, then by searchyng the ende, and learnyng by Logique, what is the finall cause of euery thyng.

¶ An example in commendacion of Justice, or true dealyng.

Justice commended.

SO many as looke to liue in peaceable quietnesse, beyng minded rather to folowe reason, then to be led by wilfull affeccion: desire Justice in all thynges, without the whiche, no countrey is able long to continue. Then maie I be bolde to cõmende that, whiche all men wishe, and fewe can haue, whiche all men loue, and none can wãt: not doubting, but as I am occupied in a good thyng, so all good men will beare me with a good will. But would God I were so well able, to perswade all men to Justice, as all men knowe the necessarie vse thereof: and then vndoubtedly, I would bee moche bolder, and force some by violence, whiche by faire wordes, can not be entreated. And yet what nedes any perswasion for that thing, which by nature is so nedefull, and by experience so profitable, that loke what we want, without Justice we get not, looke what we haue, without iustice we kepe not. God graunt vs his grace so to worke in the harts of all mẽ, that thei maie aswel practise well doyng in their owne life, as thei would that other should folowe Justice in their life: I for my part will bestow some

some labour, to set forthe the goodnesse of vpright dealyng, that all other men, the rather maie doo thereafter. That if through my woordes, God shall woorke with any man, then maie I thinke my self in happie case, and reioyce moche in the trauaile of my witte. And how can it bee otherwise, but that all men shalbe forced, inwardly to allowe that, whiche in outward acte, many doe not followe: seyng God powred firste this lawe of nature, into mannes harte, and graunted it as a meane, whereby we might knowe his will, and (as I might saie) talke with hym, groundyng still his doynges vpon this poincte, that man should dooe as he would be doen vnto, the whiche is nothing els, but to liue vprightly, without any will to hurte his neighbour. And therefore, hauyng this light of Goddes will opened vnto vs, through his mere goodnes, we ought euermore, to referre all our actions vnto this ende, bothe in giuyng iudgement, & deuisyng lawes necessarie for mannes life. And here vpon it is, that when men desire the Lawe, for triall of a matter, thei meane nothing els, but to haue Iustice, the whiche Iustice is a vertue that yeldeth to euery man his owne: to the euer liuing God loue aboue all thynges: to the kyng obedience: to the inferiour, good counsaill: to the poore man, mercie: to the hatefull and wicked, sufferaunce: to it self, truthe: and to all men, perfite peace, and charitie. Now, what can bee more saied, in praise of this vertue, or what thyng can be like praised? Are not all thinges in good case, when all men haue their own? And what other thyng dooeth Iustice, but seketh meanes to content all parties? Then how greatly are thei to bee praised, that meane truely in all their doinges, and not onely do no harme to any, but seke meanes to helpe all. The Sunne is not so wonderfull to the woorlde (saieth Aristotle) as the iuste dealyng of a gouernour, is marueilous to al men. No, the yearth yeldeth no more gain to all creatures, then doeth the Iustice of a Magistrate, to his whole realme. For, by a lawe, we liue, and take the fruictes of the yearth, but where no lawe is, nor iustice vsed: there, nothing cã be had, though all thynges bee at hande: for, in hauyng the thyng, we shall lacke the vse, and liuing in greate plentie, we shall stande in greate nede. The meane therefore, that maketh men to enioy their own, is iustice, the which being ones taken awaie,

Iustice naturally in euery one of vs.

Iustice what it is, and how large it extendeth.

Aristotle.

all other thynges are lofte with it, neither can any one saue that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therfore, if wrong doyng should bee borne withall, and not rather punished by death, what mā could liue in rest? Who could be sure, either of his life, or of his liuyng one whole daie together? Now bicause euery man desireth, the preseruacion of himself, euery man should in like case desire, the sauegarde of his neighbour. For if I should wholie mynde myne owne ease, and followe gaine without respecte, to the hinderaunce of mine euen Christian: why should not other vse the same libertie, and so euery man for himself, and the deuill for vs all, catche that catche maie? The whiche custome if all men followed, the yearth would sone be voide, for want of men, one would be so greadie to eate vp an other. For in seking to liue, we should lose our liues, and in gaping after goodes, we should sone goe naked. Therefore, to represse this rage, and with wholsome deuises, to train men in an order, God hath lightened man with knowledge, that in all thynges, he maie see what is right, and what is wrong, and vppon good aduisement, deale iustly with all men. God hath created all thynges for mannes vse, and ordeined manne, for mannes sake, that one man might helpe an other. For though some one haue giftes more plentifully, then the common sorte, yet no man can liue alone, without helpe of other. Therefore, wee should striue, one to help an other by iust dealyng, some this waie, and some that waie, as euery one shall haue nede, and as we shalbe alwaies beste able, wherin the lawe of nature is fulfilled, and Gods commaundement followed. We loue them here in yearth, that giue vs faire wordes, and we can be contente, to speake well of theim, that speake well of vs: and shall we not loue theim, and take theim also for honeste men, whiche are contented from tyme to tyme, to yelde euery man his owne, and rather would die, then consent to euil doyng? If one be gentle in outward behauiour, we like hym well, and shall we not esteme him, that is vpright in his outward liuyng? And like as we desire, that other should bee to vs, ought not we to be likewise, affected towardes them? Euen emong brute beastes, nature hath appointed a lawe, & shall we men, liue without a lawe? The Storke beyng not able to feede her self for age, is fedde of her yongones, wher-

wrong dealyng deserueth death.

Iustice necessarie for all menne.

From the lesse, to the greater.

Yong storkes

in

in is declared a naturall loue, and shall we so liue, that one shall not loue an other? Man should be vnto man, as a God, and shall man be vnto man, as a Deuill? Hath God created vs, and made vs to his owne likenesse, enduyng vs with all the riches of the yearth, that we might bee obediente to his will, and shall we neither loue hym, nor like his? How can we saie, that we loue God, if there be no charitie in vs? Doe I loue hym, whose minde I will not followe, although it be right honest? If you loue me (saieth Christ) followe my commaundementes. Christes will is soche, that we should loue God aboue al thinges, and our neighbour as our self. Then if we doe not iustice (wherein loue doeth consist) we doe neither loue man, nor yet loue God. The wiseman saieth: The beginnyng of a good life, is to doe Iustice. Yea, the blessyng of the Lorde, is vpon the hedde of the iuste. Heauen is theirs (saieth Dauid) that doe iustly from tyme to tyme. What els then shall we doe, that haue any hope of the generall resurreccion, but doe the will of God, and liue iustly all the daies of our life? Let euery man, but consider with hymself, what ease he shall finde therby, and I doubt not, but euery one depely waiyng thesame, will in harte cõfesse, that Iustice maketh plentie, and that not one man, could long hold his own if lawes wer not made, to restrain mans will. We trauaile now, Winter and Sommer, we watche and take thought, for maintenaunce of wife and children, assuredly purposing (that though God shall take vs immediatly) to leaue honestly for our family. Now, to what ende wer all our gathering together, if iust dealyng wer set a side, if lawes bare no rule, if what the wicked list, that thei maie, and what thei maie, that thei can, and what thei cã, that thei dare, and what thei dare, thesame thei do, and whatsoeuer thei do, no man of power is a greued therwith? What maketh wicked mẽ (which els would not) acknowlege the king as their souerain lorde, but the power of a lawe, and the practise of Iustice, for euill doers? Could a prince maintain his state royall, if lawe and right had not prouided, that euery mã should haue his own? Would seruauntes obeie their Maisters, the soonne his father, the Tenaunt his Landlorde, the citezein his Maior, or Sherief: if orders were not set, and iust dealyng appoincted, for all states of men? Therfore, the true meaning folke in al

Unnaturalnesse in man towardes God.

Ihon. xiiii.
Math. xix.
Marke. x.
Pro. xvi.
Prouer. iiii.
Psal. xcvi.

Profite of Iustice.

Saufegard had by iustice

Gradacion.

The necessitie of iustice,

ages

ages giue them selues, some to this occupacion, and some to that, seking therin nothing els, but to maintain a poor life, and to kepe themselues true men, bothe to God & the worlde. What maketh men to performe their bargaines, to stand to their promises, and pelde their debtes, but an order of a law grounded vppon Iustice? Where right beareth rule, there craft is compted vice. The liar is moche hated, where truthe is well estemed. The wicked theues are hãged, where good men are regarded. None can holde vp their heddes, or dare shewe their faces, in a well ruled common weale, that are not thought honest, or at the leaste haue some honest waie to liue. The Egiptians therefore, hauing a worthy and a well gouerned common weale, prouided that none should liue idle, but that euery one, monethly should giue an accompt, how he spente his tyme, and had his name regestred in a booke, for thesame purpose. But Lorde, if this lawe were vsed in England, how many would come behinde hand with their reckeninges at the audite date. I feare me, their doynges would be soche, that it would be long, ere thei got their quietus est. Therefore, the wourse is our state, the lesse that this euill is looked vnto. And surelie, if in other thynges we should be as negligente, this realme could not long stande. But thankes be to God, we hang them a pace, that offende a lawe, and therefore, we put it to their choise, whether thei will be idle, and so fall to stealing, or no: thei know their reward, go to it, when thei will. But if therwithall some good order were taken, for education of youth, and settyng loiterers on worke (as thankes be to God, the citee is moste godly bent that waie) all would sone be well, without all doubt The wise and discrete persones in all ages, sought all meanes possible, to haue an order in all thynges, and loued by iustice, to directe all their doynges, whereby appereth bothe an apte will in soche men, and a naturall stirryng by Gods power, to make all men good. Therfore, if we doe not well, we must blame our selues, that lack a will, and do not cal to God for grace. For though it appere hard to do well, because no man can get perfection, without continuaunce: yet assuredly to an humble minde that calleth to God, & to a willing hart that fain would doe his best, nothing can be hard. God hath set all things to sale for labor, & kepeth open shop, come

Where iustice is executed, vice is exiled.

Egiptians, what order thei vsed to banishe idlenesse.

Iustice, easie to beobserued if will bee not wantyng.

who will. Therefore in all ages, whereas we see the selfe good, we must well thinke, the more did lacke good will to aske, or seke for the same. Lorde, what loue had that worthie Prince Seleucus, to maintain Iustice, and to haue good lawes kepte, of whom suche a wonderfull thyng is written. For wheras he established moste wholsome lawes, for sauegarde of the Locrensians, and his owne sonne therevpon taken in adulterie, should lose bothe his yes, accordyng to the lawe then made, and yet notwithstandyng, the whole citee thought, to remit the necessitie of his punishemente, for the honour of his father, Seleucus would none of that in any wise. Yet at last, though importunitie beyng ouercome, he caused first one of his own yes to be pluckt out, and next after, one of his sonnes yes, leauyng onely the vse of sight, to hymself and his sonne. Thus though equitie of the lawe he vsed the due meane of chastisement, shewyng hymself by a wonderfull temperature, bothe a mercifull father, and a iuste lawe maker. Now happie are thei, that thus obserue a Lawe, thinkyng losse of bodie, lesse hurte to the man, then sparyng of punishemente, mete for the soule. For God will not faile them, that haue suche a desire to followe his wille, but for his promise sake, he will reward theim for euer. And now, seyng that iustice naturally, is giuen to all men, without the whiche, he could not liue, beyng warned also by god alwaies to doe vprightly, perceiuyng againe the commodities, that redounde vnto vs, by liuyng vnder a lawe, and the sauegarde, wherein we stande, hauing iustice to assiste vs: I trust that not onely all men, will commende iustice in word, but also will liue iustly in deede, the whiche that wee maie doe: God graunt vs of his grace. Amen.

Valer. li. vi.

¶ An Oracion deliberatiue.

Oracion deliberatiue.

AN Oracion deliberatiue, is a meane, whereby we doe perswade, or disswage, entreate, or rebuke, exhorte, or dehorte, commende, or comforte any man. In this kinde of oracion, we do not purpose wholy to praise any body, nor yet to determine any matter in controuersie, but the whole compasse of this cause is, either to aduise our neighbour to that thing, whiche we thinke moste nedefull for him, or els to call him backe frō that folie, which hindereth moche his estimacion. As for example, if I would counsaile

counsaile my frende to trauaile beyonde the seas, for knowledge of the tongues, and experience in foreine countreis: I might resorte to this kinde of Oracion, and finde matter to confirme my cause plentifully. And the reasons, whiche are cõmonly vsed to enlarge soche matters, are these that folow.

The thyng is honeste. Profitable. Pleasaunt.

Saufe. Easie. Harde.

Lawfull and meete. Praise worthie. Necessarie.

Honestie comprehendeth all vertues.

NOw in speaking of honestie, I maie by deuision of the vertues make a large walke. Again, loke what Lawes, what customes, what worthie deedes, or sayings haue been vsed heretofore, al these might serue well for the confirmacion of this matter, lastly where honestie is called in, to establishe a cause: there is nature and God hym self present, from whom commeth all goodnesse.

Profite how largely it extendeth.

In the seconde place, where I spake of profite, this is to bee learned, that vnder thesame is comprehended the getting of gaine, and the eschuyng of harme. Againe, concernyng profite (whiche also beareth the name of goodnes) it partly pertaineth to the bodie, as beautie, strength, and health, partly to the minde, as the encrease of witte, the gettyng of experience, and heappyng together of moche learnyng: and partely to fortune (as Philosophers take it) whereby bothe wealth, honor, and frendes are gotten. Thus he that deuideth profit can not want matter. Thirdly, in declaryng it is pleasant, I might heape together the varietie of pleasures, which come by trauaile, first the sweteneſſe of the tongue, the wholsomneſſe of the aire in other countries, the goodly wittes of the gentlemen, the straunge and auncient buildinges, the wonderfull monumentes, the greate learned clerkes in al faculties, with diuers other like, and almoſte infinite pleasures.

Profite beareth the name of goodnes, which is thre folded.

Pleasures, largely sette out.

Easineſſe of trauaile.

The easines of trauaile, maie thus bee perswaded, if we shewe, that free passage is by wholsome lawes appointed, for all straungers, and waie farers. And seeyng this life is none other thing but a trauaile, and we as pilgrimes, wander from place to place, moche fondeneſſe it were to thynke that harde, whiche nature hath made easie, yea, and pleasaunt

saunt also. None are more healthfull, none more lustie, none more merie, none more strong of bodie, then soche as haue trauailed countries. Marie vnto them, that had rather slepe all daie, then wake one houre (chosyng for any labour, slothfull idleneſſe: thinkyng this life to be none other, but a continuall reſtyng place, vnto soche pardie, it shall seme painfull to abide any labour. To learne Logique, to learne the Lawe, to some it semeth so harde, that nothyng can enter in to their heddes: and the reason is, that thei want a will, and an earneſt minde, to doe their endeuour. For vnto a willing hart, nothyng can be hard, laie lode on soche a mannes back and his good harte, maie soner make his backe to ake, then his good will, can graunte to yelde, and refuse the weight. And now where the swete hath his sower ioyned with him, it shalbe wisedome, to speake somwhat of it, to mitigate the sowerneſſe thereof, as mocke as maie be possible.

Trauaile vnto whome it is harde.

Good will makes greate burdeines light.

That is lawfull and praise worthie, whiche Lawes doe graunt, good men doe allowe, experience commendeth, and men in all ages haue moste vsed.

Lawfull.

A thyng is necessarie two maner of waies. Firste, when either we must doe some one thing, or els do worse. As if one should threaten a woman, to kille her, if she would not lye with him, wherin appereth a forcible neceſſitie. As touching trauaile we might saie, either a man muste be ignoraunt of many good thynges, and want greate experience, or els he must trauaile. Now to be ignoraunt, is a greate shame, therfore to trauaile is moste nedefull, if wee will auoide shame. The other kinde of neceſſitie is, when we perswade men to beare those thynges patiently, when wee perswade men to beare those crosses patiently, whiche God doeth sende vs, cõsideryng, will we, or nill we, nedes must we abide them.

Necessary two waies taken.

¶ To aduise one, to studie the lawes of Englande.

AGain, when we se our frend, enclined to any kind of learnyng, we muste counsaile hym to take that waie till, and by reason perswade him, that it wer the metest waie for him, to doe his countrie moste good. As if he giue his minde, to the Lawes of the realme, and finde an aptnes thereunto, we maie aduise hym, to continue in his good entent, and by reason perswade hym, that it were moste mete for him so to do. And firſt we might shew him, that the studie is honeſt and godly, consideryng it onely

Lawes of Englande.

folowyth iustice, and is grounded wholy vpon naturall reason. Wherein we might take a large scope, if we would fully speake of all thynges, that are comprehended vnder honestie. For he that will knowe what honestie is, must haue an vnderstandyng, of all the vertues together. And bicause the knowlege of them is moste necessarie, I wil briefly set them foorthe. There are fower especiall and chief vertues, vnder whom all other are comprehended.

Vertues especiall and chief, fower in nomber.

- Prudence, or wisedome.
- Iustice.
- Manhode.
- Temperaunce.

Prudence, what it is?

PRudence, or wisedome (for I will here take them bothe for one) is a vertue that is occupied enermore in searchyng out the truth. Now we all loue knowledge, and haue a desire to passe other therein, and thinke it shame to be ignorant: and by studyng the lawe, the truthe is gotten out, by knowyng the truthe, wisedome is attained. Wherfore, in perswadyng one to studie the law, you maie shewe hym, that he shall gette wisedome thereby. Under this vertue are comprehended.

Partes of Prudence.

- Memorie.
- Understandyng.
- Foresight.

THe memorie, calleth to accompt those thinges, that were dooen heretofore, and by a former remembraunce, getteth an after witte, and learneth to auoide deceipt.

Understandyng seeth thynges presently dooen, and perceiueth what is in them, weighyng and debatyng them, vntill his minde be fully contented.

Foresight, is a gathering by coniectures, what shall happen, and an euidente perceiuyng of thynges to come, before thei doe come.

Iustice.

Iustice what it is.

Iustice is a vertue, gathered by long space, giuyng euery one his owne, mindyng in all thynges, the common profite of our countrey, whervnto man is moste bound, and oweth his full obedience.

Now, nature firste taught manne, to take this waie, and would euery one so to do vnto an other, as he would be doen vnto

would euery one so to do vnto an other, as he would be doen vnto hymself. For whereas Raine watereth all in like, the Sunne shineth indifferently ouer al, the fruict of the yearth encreaseth equally, God warneth vs, to bestowe our good will after thesame sorte, doyng as duetie bindeth vs, and as necessitie shall best require. Yea, God graunteth his giftes diuersly emong men, because he would man should knowe, and fele, that man is borne for man, and that one hath nede of an other. And therefore, though nature hath not stirred some, yet through the experience that man hath, concerning his commoditie: many haue turned the lawe of nature, into an ordinary custome, and followed thesame, as though thei were bounde to it by a Lawe. Afterwarde, the wisedome of Princes, and the feare of Gods threate, whiche was vttered by his woorde, forced men by a lawe, bothe to allowe thynges confirmed by nature, and to beare with old custome, or els thei should not onely suffer in the body, tẽporall punishemente, but also lose their soules for euer. Nature is a right, that phantasie hath not framed, but God hath grafted, and giuen man power thereunto, whereof these are deriued. Nature, what it is.

{ Religion, and acknowlegyng of God.
Naturall loue to our children, and other.
Thankfulnesse to all men.
{ Stoutnesse, bothe to withstande and reuenge.
Reuerence to the superiour.
Assured and constannt truthe in thinges.

REligion, is an humble worshipping of GOD, acknowlegyng hym, to be the creatour of creatures and the onely giuer of all good thinges. Religion.

Naturall loue, is an inward good will, that we beare to our parentes, wife, children, or any other that bee nighe of kinne vnto vs, stirred thereunto, not onely by our flesche, thinkyng that like as wee would loue our selues, so wee should loue theim, but also by a likenesse of minde: and therefore, generally we loue all, because all be like vnto vs, but yet we loue theim mosse, that bothe in body and minde, bee mosse like vnto vs. And hereby it cometh, that often we are liberall, and bestowe our goodes vpon the nedy, remembring that thei are al one flesche with vs, and should not wãt Naturall loue.

when wee haue it, without our greate rebuke, and token of our moste vnkinde dealyng.

Thankefulnes. Thankfulneſſe, is a requiting of loue, for loue, and will, for will, shewyng to our frendes, the like goodneſſe that we finde in them: yea, ſtriuing to paſſe them in kindneſſe, loſing neither tyme nor tide, to doe them good.

Stoutenesſe. Stoutnes, to withſtand & reuenge euill, is then vſed whē either we are like to haue harme, and do withſtand it, or els when we haue ſuffred euill for the truthſake, and therupon do reuēge it, or rather puniſhe the euill, whiche is in the mā.

Reuerence. Reuerence, is an humbleneſſe in outward behauor, whē we doe our dutie to them, that are our betters, or vnto ſoche as are called to ſerue the kyng, in ſome greate vocacion.

Aſſured & constant truth. Aſſured and conſtant truthe is, when we doe beleue that thoſe thynges, whiche are, or haue been, or hereafter are about to be, can not otherwiſe be, by any meanes poſſible.

Right by cuſtome. That is right by cuſtome, whiche long tyme hath confirmed, beyng partly grounded vpon nature, and partly vpon reaſon, as where we are taught by nature, to knowe the euer liuyng God, and to worſhip him in ſpirite, we tourning natures light, into blind cuſtome, without Gods will, haue vſed at length to beleue, that he was really with vs, here in yearth, and worſhipped hym not in ſpirite, but in Copes, in Candleſticks, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Cenſers, in Croſſes, in Banners, in ſhauen Crounes, and long gounes and many good morowes els, deuiſed onely by the phantaſie of man, without the expreſſe will of GOD. The whiche childiſhe toyes, tyme hath ſo long confirmed, that the truth is ſcant able to trie them out, our hartes be ſo hard, and our wittes be ſo farre to ſeke.

Cuſtome with our natures groūd vngodly.

Againe, where we ſee by nature, that euery one ſhould deale truely, cuſtome encreaſeth natures will, and maketh by auncient demeane, thynges to be iuſtly obſerued, which nature hath appointed.

As { Bargainyng. / Commons, or equalitee. / Judgement giuen.

Bargainyng is, when twoo haue agreed, for the ſale of ſome one thyng, the one will make his felowe to ſtande to the bargain, though it be to his neighbors

vndoyng, restyng vpon this poincte, that a bargain is a bargain, and must stand without al excepcion, although nature requireth to haue thinges doen by conscience, & would that bargaining shuld be builded vpō iustice, wherby an vpright dealyng, and a charitable loue, is vttered emongest all men.

Communes or equalitie, is when the people by long time haue a ground, or any soche thyng emong them, the whiche some of them will kepe still, for custome sake, and not suffer it to be fensed, and so tourned to pasture, though thei might gain ten tymes the value: but soche stubburnesse in kepyng of commons, for custome sake, is not standing with Justice, bicause it is holden against all right. Commmons

Judgemente giuen, is when a matter is confirmed by a Parlamente, or a Lawe, determined by a Judge, vnto the whiche many hed strong men will stande to die for it, without sufferaunce of any alteracion, not remembryng the circumstaunce of thynges, and that tyme altereth good actes. Judgement geuen.

That is right by a Lawe, when the truthe is vttered in writyng, and commaunded to bee kepte, euen as it is sette forthe vnto them. Right by Lawe.

¶ Fortitude, or manhode.

FOrtitude, is a considerate hassarding vpon daunger, and a willing harte to take paines, in behalf of the right. Now, when can stoutnesse bee better vsed, then in a iuste maintenaunce of the Lawe, and constaunt triyng of the truthe? Of this vertue, there ar fower braunches. Manhode.

- Honourablenesse.
- Stoutnesse.
- Sufferaunce.
- Continuaunce.

HOnourablenesse, is a noble orderyng of weightie matters, with a lustie harte, and a liberall vsyng of his wealthe, to the encrease of honour. Honorablenes.

Stoutnesse, is an assured trust in hymself, whē he mindeth the compasse of moste weightie matters, and a couragious defendyng of his cause. Stoutnesse.

Sufferaunce, is a willyng and a long bearyng of trouble and takyng of paines: for the maintenaunce of vertue, and the wealth of his countrey. Susseraunce

Continuaunce

Continuaunce, is a stedfast and constaunte abidyng, in a purposed and well aduised matter, not yeldyng to any man in querell of the right.

¶ Temperaunce.

Temperance

Temperaunce, is a measuring of affections, accordyng to the will of reason, and a subduyng of lust vnto the Square of honestie. Yea, and what one thyng doeth soner mitigate, the immoderate passions of our nature, then the perfecte knowlege of right and wrong, and the iuste execucion appoincted by a lawe, for asswagyng the wilfull: Of this vertue, there are thre partes.

Sobrietie.
Gentlenesse.
Modestie.

Sobrietie.

Sobrietie, is a bridelyng by discrecion, the wilfulnesse of desire.

Gentlenesse.

Gentlenesse, is a caulmyng of heate, when we begin to rage, & a lowly behauior in all our bodie.

Modestie.

Modestie, is an honeste shamefastnesse, whereby we kepe a constaunte looke, and appere sober in all our outward doynges. Now, euen as wee should desire, the vse of all these vertues, so should we eschue, not onely the contraries hereunto, but also auoide all soche euilles, as by any meanes doe withdrawe vs from well doyng.

¶ It is profitable.

After we haue perswaded our frend, that the lawe is honest, drawing our argumentes frō the heape of vertues, we must go further with hym, & bring hym in good beleue, that it is very gainfull. For many one seke not the knowlege of learnyng, for the goodnesse sake, but rather take paines for the gain, which thei se doeth arise by it. Take awaie the hope of lucre, and you shal se fewe take any paines: no, not in the vineyard of the lorde. For although none should followe any trade of life, for the gain sake, but euen as he seeth, it is moste necessarie, for the aduauncemente of Gods glorie, and not passe in what estimacion thynges are had in this worlde: yet bicause we are all so weake of witte, in our tender yeres, that wee can not weigh with our selues, what is best, and our body so nesshe,

Hope of reward maketh menne take paines.

that

that it looketh euer to bee cherished, we take that, whiche is moste gainefull for vs, and forsake that altogether, whiche we ought moste to followe. So, that for lacke of honest meanes, and for want of good order, the beste waie is not vsed, neither is Gods honour, in our first yeres remembred. I had rather (saied one) make my child a Cobler, then a Preacher, a Tankerd bearer, then a scholer. For, what shall my sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall neuer gette thereby any liuyng? Set my soonne to that, whereby he maie gette somewhat? Dooe ye not see, how euery one catcheth, and pulleth from the Churche, what thei can? I feare me one daie, thei will plucke doune Churche and all. Call you this the Gospell, when menne seke onely to prouide for their belies, and care not a grote, though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a benefice, will haue a poore ymgrame soule, to beare the name of a Parson, for twentie marke, or ten pound: and the patrone hymselfe, will take vp for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learnyng decaied, Englande dishonoured, and honestie not regarded. The old Romaines, not yet knowyng Christe, and yet beyng led by a reuerent feare towardes God, made this lawe. *Sacrum saxum commendatum qui clepserit, rapseritue, parricida est.* He that shall closely steale, or forcibly take awaie that thyng, which is holy, or giuen to the holy place, is a murderer of his countrie. But what haue I said? I haue a greater matter in hãd, then whereof I was a ware, my penne hath run ouer farre, when my leasure serueth not, nor yet my witte is hable, to talke this case in soche wise, as it should be, and as the largenesse thereof requireth. Therefore, to my Lawier againe, whom I doubte not to perswade, but that he shall haue the deuill and all, if he learne a pace, and doe as some haue doen before him. Therfore, I will shewe how largely this profite extendeth, that I maie haue him the soner, to take this matter in hande. The lawe therefore, not onely bringeth moche gaine with it, but also auaunceth men, both to worshipp, renoume, and honour. All menne shall seke his fauour, for his learnyng sake, the beste shall like his companie, for his callyng: and his wealthe with his skill shalbe soche, that none shalbe able to worke hym any wrong. Some consider profit, by these circumstaunces folowyng.

The Romaines lawes for Churche dignitees.

To whom.
When.
Where.
Wherefore.

Circumstances in obseruyng profite.

Neither can I vse a better order, then these circumstaunces, minister vnto me. To whom therefore, is the lawe profitable? Marie, to them that be best learned, that haue readie wittes, and will take paines. When is the lawe profitable? Assuredly, both now and euermore, but especially in this age, where all men goe together by the eares, for this matter, and that matter. Moche altercacion hath been heretofore, that hereafter nedes must ensue moche altercacion. And where is all this a doe? Euen in little Englande, or in Westminster hall, where neuer yet wanted businesse, nor yet euer shall. Wherefore is the lawe profitable? Undoubtedly, because no manne could holde his owne, if there were not an order to stay vs, and a Lawe to restrain vs. And I praie you, who getteth the money? The Lawiers no doubt. And were not lande somtimes cheaper bought, then gotte by the triall of a Lawe? Doe not menne commonly for trifles fall out? Some for lopping of a tree, spendes all that euer thei haue, an other for a Gose that graseth vpon his grounde, tries the Lawe so hard, that he proues hymself a Gander. Now, when men be so madde, is it not easie, to get money emong them. Undoubtedly, the Lawier neuer dieth a begger. And no marualle. For an. C. beggers for him, and makes awaie all that thei haue, to get that of hym, the whiche, the oftener he bestoweth, the more still he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies, aswell by encrease of learnyng, as by storyng his purse with money, whereas the other get a warme Sonne often tymes, and a flappe with a Fore taile, for all that euer thei haue spente. And why would thei? Tushe, if it were to doe againe, thei would doe it: therefore, the Lawier can neuer want a liuing till the yearth want men, and all be voide.

Folie in many, that go to the Lawe.

Lawiers, neuer dye beggers.

¶ The Lawe easie to many, and harde to some

I Doubte not, but my Lawier is perswaded, that the Lawe is profitable, now must I beare hym in hande that it is an easie matter, to become a Lawier. The

whiche

whiche, if I shall bee able to proue. I doubte not, but he will proue a good Lawier, and that right shortly: the Lawe is grounded vpon reason. And what hardenesse is it for a man by reason, to finde out reason. That can not be straunge vnto hym, the grounde whereof, is grafted in his brest. What, though the lawe be in a straūge tongue, the woordes maie be gotte without any paine, when the matter self is compasse with ease. Tushe, a little Lawe, will make a greate shewe, and therefore, though it be moche, to become excellent, yet it is easie to get a taste. And surely, for getting of money, a little will dooe asmoche good oftentymes, as a greate deale. There is not a woorde in the Lawe, but it is a Grote in the Lawiers purse. I haue knowen diuers, that by familiar talkyng, and mountyng together, haue come to right good learnyng, without any greate booke skill, or moche beatyng of their brain, by any close study, or secrete musing in their chāber. But where some saie, the law is verie hard, and discourage young men, from the studie thereof, it is to be vnderstande of soche, as will take no paines at all, nor yet mynde the knowlege thereof. For, what is not harde to man, when he wanteth will to doe his beste. As good slepe, and saie it is harde: as wake, and take no paines.

The Lawe.
- Godlie.
- Iustice.
- Necessarie.
- Pleasaunt.

What needeth me, to proue the Lawe to bee godlie, iuste, or necessarie, seing it is grounded vpō Gods will, and all Lawes are made, for the maintenaunce of Iustice. If we will not beleue, that it is necessary, let vs haue rebelles again, to disturbe the realme. Our nature is so fonde, that we knowe not the necessitie of a thyng, till we finde some lacke of thesame. Bowes are not esteemed, as thei haue been emōg vs Englishemen, but if we wer ones well beatē by our enemies, we should sone knowe the want, and with felyng the smarte, lament moche our folie. Take awaie the Lawe, and take awaie our liues, for nothyng maintaineth our wealthe, our healthe, and the sauegarde of our bodies, but the Lawe of a realme, whereby the wicked are condempned, and the godlie are defended. Lawes maintaine life.

An Epistle to perswade a yong gentleman to mariage, deuised by Erasmus, in the behalfe of his frende,

Albeit, you are wise enough of your self, through that singulare wisedome of yours (moost louyng cosine) and little needes the aduise of other, yet either for that olde frendshyp, whiche hath been betwixte vs, and continued with our age, euen from our Cradles, or for soche your greate good tournes, shewed at all times towardes me, or els for that faste kinred and alliaunce, whiche is betwixt vs: I thought my self thus moche to owe vnto you, if I would bee soche a one in deede, as you euer haue taken me, that is to saie, a man bothe frendly and thākfull, to tell you freely (whatsoeuer I iudged to appertaine either to the sauegarde, or worshyp of you, or any of yours) and willingly to warne you of thesame. We are better seen oftentymes, in other mennes matters, then wee are in our owne. I haue felte often your aduise, in myne owne affaires, and I haue found it, to be fortunate vnto me, as it was frendely. Now, if you will likewise in your owne matters, followe my counsaile. I truste it shall so come to passe, that neither I shall repente me, for that I haue giuen you counsaile, nor yet you shall forthinke your self, that you haue obeied, and folowed myne aduise.

There was at supper with me, the .xij. daie of Aprill, whē I laie in the countrie, *Antonius Baldus*, a man (as you know) that moost earnestly tendereth your welfare, and one that hath been alwaies of great acquaintaunce, and familiaritie with your sonne in Lawe: a beaute feast we had, and full of moche mournyng. He tolde me, greatly to bothe our beautie, that your mother, that moost godly woman, was departed this life, and your sister beyng ouercome with sorow and beautie, had made her self a Nunne, so that in you onely, remaineth the hope of issue, and maintenance of your stocke. Whereupon your frendes with one consent, haue offerde you in Mariage, a gentlewoman of a good house, and moche wealthe, faire of bodie, very well brought vp, and soche a one, as loueth you with all her hart. But you (either for your late sorowes, whiche you haue in freshe remembraunce, or els for Religion sake) haue so purposed to liue a single life, that neither can you for loue of your stocke, neither

ther for desire of issue, nor yet for any entreatie of your frendes can make, either by prayeng, or by weyeng: be brought to chaunge your minde. And yet notwithstandyng, all this (if you will followe my counsaile) you shall bee of an other minde, and leauyng to liue single, whiche bothe is barrain, and smally agreyng with the state of mannes Nature, you shall giue your self wholly, to moste holy wedlocke. And for this part, I will neither wishe, that the loue of your frendes (whiche els ought to ouercome your Nature) nor yet myne authoritie, that I haue ouer you, should doe me any good at all, to compasse this my requeste, if I shall not proue vnto you by moste plain reasons, that it will be bothe mooche more honeste, more profitable, and also moste pleasaunte for you, to marie, then to liue otherwise. Yea, what will you saie, if I proue it also, to be necessarie for you, at this tyme to marie. And first of all, if honestie maie moue you in this matter (the whiche emong all good men, ought to bee of moche weight) what is more honeste then Matrimonie, the whiche Christe hymself did make honest, when not onely he, vouchsaued to bee at the Mariage with his mother, but also did consecrate the mariage feaste, with the first miracle, that euer he did vpon yearth? What is more holy then matrimonie, which the creatour of all thynges did institute, did fasten, and make holy, and nature it self did establishe? what is more praise worthie, then that thyng, the whiche, whosoeuer shall dispraise, is condempned straight for an heretique? Matrimonie, is euen as honourable, as the name of an heretique, is thought shamefull. What is more right, or meete, then to giue that vnto the posteritie, the whiche we haue receiued of our auncestors? What is more inconsiderate, then vnder the desire of holinesse, to eschue that as vnholie, whiche God hymself, the fountain and father of all holinesse, would haue to be cepted is moste holy? What is more vnmanly, then that man should go againste, the Lawes of mankinde? What is more vnthankfull, then to deny that vnto ponglinges, the whiche (if thou haddest not receiued of thine elders) thou couldeste not haue been the man liuyng, able to haue denied it vnto them. That if you would knowe, who was the first founder of mariage, you shall vnderstand, that it came not vp by Licurgus, nor yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon: but it was first

Praise worthie to marie.

Right & meet to marie.

Mariage first made by God.

ordeined and instituted, by the chief founder of all thynges, commended by thesame, made honourable, and made holie by thesame. For, at the first, when he made man of the yerth he did perceiue, that his life should bee miserable, and vnsauerie, except he ioyned Eue as mate vnto him. Wherevpon he did not make the wife vppon thesame clate, whereof he made man: but he made her of Adams ribbes, to thende we might plainly vnderstande, that nothyng ought to bee more deare vnto vs, then our wife, nothyng more nigh vnto vs, nothyng surer ioyned, and (as a man would saie) faster gleued together. The self same God, after the generall flood, being reconciled to mankinde, is said, to proclaime this lawe first of al, not that mē should liue single, but that thei should increase, be multiplied, and fill the yearth. But how I praie you could this thyng be, sauing by mariage, and lawfull ioynyng together? And first, least we should allege here, either the libertie of Moses lawe, or els the necessitie of that tyme: what other meanyng els, hath that common, and commendable report of Christ in the Gospell, for this cause (saith he) shall man leaue father & mother, and cleaue to his wife. And what is more holie, then the reuerence and loue, due vnto parents? And yet the truth promised in matrimonie, is preferred before it, and by whose meanes? Mary by god himself at what time? Forsoth not onely emong the Iewes, but also emong the Christians. Men forsake father and mother, and takes them selues wholie to their wiues. The sonne beyng passe. xx. yeres, is free and at libertie. Yea, the sonne beyng abdicated, becometh no sonne. But it is death onelie, that parteth maried folke, if yet death doeth parte them. Now, if the other Sacramentes (whereunto the Churche of Christe chiefly leaneth) be reuerentlie vsed, who doeth not see, that this Sacrament, should haue the moste reuerence of all, the whiche was instituted of God, and that firste and before all other. As for the other, thei wer instituted vpon yearth, this was ordeined in Paradise: the other were giuen for a remedie, this was appointed for the felowship of felicitie: the other were applied to mannes nature, after the fall, this onely was giuen, when man was in moste perfite state. If wee compte those lawes good, that mortall menne haue enacted, shall not the lawe of Matrimonie be moste holie, whiche we haue

After manne was made, the women was ioyned vnto hym.

Matrimonie renewed after the flood.

Natures worke, allowed by gods worde.

haue receiued of hym, by whom wee haue receiued life, the whiche lawe, was then together enacted, when manne was firste created: And lastlie, to strengthen this Lawe, with an example and deede doen, Christ beyng a young man (as the storie reporteth) was called to a Mariage, and came thether willyngly with his mother, and not onely was he there present, but also he did honest the feast, with a wonderfull marualle, beginning first, in none other place, to worke his wōders, and to doe his miracles. Why then I praie you (will one saie) how happeneth it, that Christ forbare mariage? As though good sir, there are not many thynges in Christe, at the whiche wee ought rather to maruaile, then seeke to followe. He was borne, and had no father, he came into this worlde, without his mothers painfull trauaile, he came out of the graue, whē it was closed vp, what is not in him aboue nature? Let these thynges be proper vnto hym. Let vs that liue within the boundes of nature, reuerence those thynges that are aboue nature, and followe soche thynges, as are within our reach, soche as we are able to compasse. But yet (you saie) he would be born of a virgin: of a virgin (I graūt) but yet of a maried virgin. A virgin being a mother, did moste become God, and beyng maried, she shewed what was beste for vs to do. Virginitie did become her, who being vndefiled brought hym forth by heauenly inspiration, that was vndefiled. And yet Joseph beyng her husbande, doeth commende vnto vs, the lawe of chaste wedlocke. Yea, how could he better set out the societie in wedlock, thā that willing to declare the secrete societie of his Diuine nature, with the bodie and soule of man, whiche is wōderfull, euen to the heauenly angels, and to shewe his vnspeakable and euer abidyng loue, toward his churche: he doeth call hymself the Bridegrome, and her the Bride. Greate is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saieth Paule) betwixt Christ and his Churche. If there had been vnder heauen, any holier yoke, if there had been any more religious couenaūt, thā is matrimonie, without doubt therample therof had been vsed. But what like thing do you read in all scripture, of the single life? The Apostle S Paule in the. xiij. Chapiter of his Epistle to the Hebrues, calleth Matrimonie honourable emong all menne, and the bed vndefiled, and yet the single life, is not so moche as ones named

Mariage beautified by a miracle.

Mariage honourable.

in

in the same place. Nay, they are not borne withall, that liue single, except they make some recompence, with doyng some greate thing. For els, if a man followyng the Lawe of Nature, doe labour to get children, he is euer to be preferred before hym, that liueth still vnmaried, for none other ende, but bicause he would bee out of trouble, and liue more free. We doe read, that suche as are in very deede chaste of their bodie, and liue a virgines life, haue been praised: but the single life was neuer praised of it self. Now, again the lawe of Moses, accurseth the barrennesse of maried folke: and we doe read that some were excommunicated, for the same purpose, and banished from the altare. And wherefore I praie you? Marie sir, bicause that they like vnprofitable persones, and liuyng onely to theim selues, did not encrease the worlde with any issue. In Deuteronomi, it was the chiefest token of Goddes blessynges vnto the Israelites, that none should be barrein emōg thē, neither man, nor yet woman. And Lia is thought to be out of Gods fauour, bicause she could not bring forthe children. Yea, and the Psalme of Dauid. 128. it is countped one of the chiefest partes of blesse, to be a fruictfull woman. Thy wife (saieth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull, like a Vine, and thy children like the braunches of Olines, round about thy table. Then, if the lawe doe condempne, and vtterly disalowe barren Matrimonie, it hath alwaies moche more cōdempned, the single life of Batchelaures. If the fault of Nature, hath not escaped blame, the will of man can neuer wāt rebuke. If they are accursed, that would haue children, and can gette none, what deserue they, whiche neuer trauaile to escape barrennesse? The Hebrues had suche a reuerence to maried folke, that he which had maried a wife, the same yere should not be forced to goe on warfare. A citee is like to fall to ruine, excepte there be watchemen, to defende it with armour. But assured destruction must here nedes followe, except men through the benefite of Mariage, supplie issue, the whiche through mortalitie, doe from tyme to tyme decaie.

Deut. vi.

Lia.

Hebrues Lawe for maried folk.

Duer and besides this, the Romaines did late a penaltie vpon their backe, that liued a single life, yea, they would not suffer theim, to beare any office in the common weale. But they that had encreased the worlde with issue, had a rewarde by common assente, as men that did deserued well of their countrie.

Plutarchus in the life of Cato.

countrie. The olde fozen lawes, did appointe penalties, foz
foche as liued single, the whiche although thei wer qualified
by Constantius the Emperour, in the fauour of Christes re-
ligion: yet these lawes doe declare, how little it is foz the cō-
mon weales aduauncement, that either a citee should be lef-
ned, foz loue of sole life, oz els that the countrie should be fil-
led full of bastardes. And besides this, the Empero3 Augu- Augustus
stus, being a soze punisher of euill behauio3, examined a sol- Cesar.
diour, because he did not marie his wife, accozdyng to the la-
wes, the whiche soldiour, had hardely escaped iudgement, if
he had not got three children by her. And in this poincte doe
the lawes of the Emperozs, seme fauozable to maried folke,
that thei abzogate soche bowes, as were pzoclaimed to bee
kepte, and bzought in by Miscella, and would that after the Miscella.
penaltie were remitted, soche couenauntes beeyng made a-
gainst all right and conscience, should also bee taken of none
effecte, and as voide in the lawe. Ouer and besides this, Vl- Vlpianus.
pianus doeth declare, that the matter of Dowzies was euer
moze, and in all places, the chiefest aboue all other, the which
should neuer haue been so, except there came to the common
weale, some especiall pzofite by mariage. Mariage hath euer
been reuerenced, but fruitfulnesse of bodie, hath bee moche
moze, foz so sone as one gotte the name of a father, there dis-
cended not onely vnto him, inheritaunce of lande, but al be-
questes, and gooddes of soche his frendes, as died intestate.
The whiche thyng appereth plain, by the Satyze Poete.

Through me thou art made, an heire to haue lande, Iuuenall.
Thou hast all beguestes one with an other:
All goodes and cattell are come to thy hande,
Yea gooddes intestate, thou shalt haue sure.

Now, he that hath three children, was moze fauoured, foz
he was exempted from all outward ambassages. Againe, he
that had fiue children, was discharged, and free from al per-
sonalle office, as to haue the gouernaunce, oz patronage of
young gentlemen, the whiche in those dates, was a greate
charge, and full of paines, without any pzofite at al. He that
had .xiij. children, was free by the Empero3 Iulianus lawe,
not onely from beyng a man of armes, oz a Capitaine ouer
hozsmen: but also frō al other offices in the common weale.

And

And the wise founders of all Lawes, giue good reason, why soche fauour was shewed to maried folke. For what is more blessefull, then to liue euer? Now, where as nature hath denied this, Patrimonie doeth giue it, by a certaine sleighte, so moche as male be. Who doeth not desire to be bruted, and liue through fame, emong men hereafter? Now, there is no buildyng of pillers, no erectyng of arches, no blasyng of Armes, that doeth more set forthe a mannes name, then doeth the encrease of children. Albinus obteined his purpose of the Emperour Adrian, for none other deserte of his, but that he had begot an housefull of children. And therefore the Emperour (to the hinderaunce of his treasure) suffred the children to enter wholly vppon their fathers possession, forasmoche as he knewe well, that his Realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Again, all other lawes, are neither agreyng for all Countries, nor yet vsed at all time. Licurgus made a lawe, that thei whiche maried not, should be kept in Somer, from the sight of sage Plaies, and other wonderfull shewes, and in Winter, thei should go naked aboute the Market place, and accursing thē selues, thei should confesse openlie, that thei had iustlie deserued soche punishemente, bicause thei did not liue, accordyng to the Lawes. And without any more a dooe, will ye knowe, how moche our old auncestours, heretofore estemed Patrimonie? Weigh well, and consider the punishemente, for breakyng of wedlocke. The Grekes heretofore thought it mete, to punishe the breach of Patrimonie with battaile, that continued tenne yeres. Yea, moreouer not onelie by the Romaine Lawe, but also by the Hebrues and straungers, aduouterous persones were punished with death. If a thefe paied fower tymes the value of that, whiche he toke awaie, he was deliuered: but an aduouterers offence, was punished with the sworde. Emong the Hebrues, the people stoned the aduouteres to death, with their owne handes, bicause thei had brokē that, without which the world could not cōtinue. And yet thei thought not, this fore Lawe sufficient inough, but graunted further, to run hym through without Lawe, that was taken in aduoutrie, as who should saie, thei graūted that to the grief of maried folke, the whiche thei would hartelie graunt to hym, that stoode in his owne defence, for saufegard

Licurgus lawe against vnmaried folke.

Punishmentes appointed for breakyng of wedlocke.

The Grecians reuengemente for aduoutrie.

The Hebrues stoned aduouterers.

Lawfull for the maried man emong the Hebrues, to kill the aduouterer.

saufegarde of his life, as though he offended more hainously, that tooke a mannes wife, then he did, that tooke awaie a mannes life. Assuredlie, Wedlocke must needes seme to be a moste holie thyng, considerynge, that beyng ones broken, it muste needes bee purged, with mannes blood, the reuenger whereof, is not forced to abide, either Lawe, or Judge, the whiche libertie is not graunted any, to vse vppon hym that hath killed, either his father, or his mother. But what dooe we with these Lawes written? This is the lawe of nature, not written in the Tables of Brasse, but firmelie printed in our myndes, the whiche Lawe, whosoeuer dooeth not obeye, he is not worthie to bee called a manne, muche lesse shall he bee coumpted a Citezein. For, if to liue well (as the Stoikes wittely dooe dispute) is to followe the course of nature, what thyng is so agreyng with Nature, as Matrimonie? For there is nothyng so naturall, not onely vnto mankinde, but also vnto all other liuyng creatures, as it is for euery one of theim, to kepe their owne kinde from decaie, and through increase of issue, to make their whole kind immortalle. The whiche thyng (all men knowe) can neuer bee dooen without Wedlocke, and carnall copulacion. It were a foule thyng, that brute beastes, should obeye the Lawe of Nature, and men like Giauntes, should fight againste Nature. Whose worke, if we would narowly looke vpon, we shall perceiue that in all thynges, here vppon yearth, the would there should be a certain spice of mariage. Matrimonie naturall.

I will not speake now of trees, wherein (as Plinie moste certainly writeth) there is founde Mariage, with some manifeste difference of bothe kyndes, that excepte the housebande Tree, dooe leane with his boughes, euen as though he should desire copulacion, vppon the women Trees, growyng rounde aboute hym: Thei would elles altogether ware barraine. The same Plinie also dooeth reporte, that certaine authours dooe thinke, there is bothe Male, and Female, in all thynges that the yearth yeldeth. Mariage emong trees.

I will not speake of precious Stones, wherein the same authour affirmeth, and yet not he onely neither, that there is bothe male, and female emong thē. And I praie you, hath not God so knitte all thynges together, with certaine lincke, that one euer seemeth, to haue nede of an other? What Mariage emong precious stones.

Mariage betwen the firmament and the yearth.

saie you of the Skie or Firmamente, that is euer stirryng, with continuall mouyng? Dooeth it not plaie the parte of a housbande, while it pusheth vp the yearth, the mother of all thynges, and maketh it fruitfull, with castyng seede (as a manne would saie) vpon it. But I thinke it ouer tedious, to runne ouer all thinges. And to what ende are these thinges spoken? Marie sir, bicause we might vnderstād, that through Mariage, all thynges are, and doe still continue, and without thesame, all thynges dooe decaie, and come to naught.

The fable of Giantes that fought against Nature.

The olde auncients and moste wise Poetes doe feigne (who had euer a desire, vnder the colour of fables, to set forthe precepte of Philosophie) that the Giauntes, whiche had Snakes feete, and wer borne of the yearth, builded greate hilles that mounted vp to heauen, mindyng thereby, to be at vtter defiaunce with God, and all his angels. And what meaneth this fable? Marie, it sheweth vnto vs, that certain fierce and sauage men, suche as were vnknowen, could not abide wedlocke, for any worldes good, and therefore, thei wer stricken doune hedlong with lightnyng, that is to saie: thei were vterly destroied, when thei sought to eschue that, wherby the weale and saufgard of all mankinde, onely dooeth consiste.

Orpheus.

Now again, thesame Poetes dooe declare, that Orpheus the Musician and Minstrell, did stirre and make softe, with his pleasaunte melodie, the moste harde rockes and stones. And what is their meanyng herein? Assuredly nothyng els, but that a wise and well spoken manne, did call backe harde harted menne, suche as liued abrode like beastes, from open whoredome, and brought them to liue, after the moste holie lawes of Matrimonie. Thus we se plainly, that suche a one as hath no minde of Mariage, semeth to be no man, but rather a stone, an enemy to nature, a rebell to God himself, seekyng through his owne folie, his last ende and destruccion.

The moste wicked can not chose but alowe mariage.

Well, let vs goe on still (seyng we are fallen into fables, that are not fables altogether) when thesame Orpheus, in the middes of hell, forced Pluto hymself, and all the deuilles there, to graunt him leaue, to cary awaie his wife Euridice what other thyng do we thinke, that the Poetes meant, but onely to set forthe vnto vs, the loue in wedlocke, the whiche euen emong the deuilles, was coumpted good and godly.

And this also makes wel for the purpose, that in old time thei

thei made Iupiter Gamelius, the God of Mariage, and Iuno Lucina, Ladie midwife, to helpe soche women as laboured in childe bedde, beeyng fondlie deceiued, and superstitiously erryng, in namyng of the Gods, and yet not missyng the truthe, in declaryng that Matrimonie is an holie thing, and meete for the worthinesse thereof, that the Gods in heauen, should haue care ouer it. Emong diuers countries, and diuers men, there haue been diuers Lawes and customes vsed. Yet was there neuer any countrie so sauage, none so farre from all humanitie, where the name of wedlocke was not coumpted holie, and had in greate reuerence. This the Thracian, this the Sarmate, this the Indian, this the Grecian, this the Latine, yea, this the Britain that dwelleth in the furthest parte of all the worlde, or if there bee any that dwell beyonde them, haue euer coumpted to be moste holie. And why so? Marie, bicause that thyng must nedes be common to all, whiche the common mother vnto all, hath grafted in vs all, and hath so throughlie grafted thesame in vs, that not onely Stockdoues and Pigions, but also the moste wilde beastes, haue a naturall felyng of this thyng. For the Lions are gentle, againste the Lioneste. The Tygers fight for safegard of their young whelpes. The Asse runnes thorowe the hotte fire (whiche is made to kepe her awaie (for safegarde of her issue. And this thei call the lawe of Nature, the which is as it of moste strength and force, so it spreadeth abrode moste largely. Therefore, as he is coumpted no good gardener, that beyng content with thynges presente, doeth diligently proine his olde trees, and hath no regarde, either to ympe or graffe yong settes: bicause the self same Orchard (though it bee neuer so well trimmed) muste nedes decaie in tyme, and all the trees die within fewe yeres: so he is not to bee coumpted halfe a diligent Citezein, that beyng contente with the presente multitude, hath no regard to encrease the nomber. Therfore, there is no one man, that euer hath been coumpted a worthy Citezein, who hath not laboured to get childzen, and sought to bryng them vp in godlinesse.

All nacions euer esteemed mariage.

Emong the Hebrues, and the Persians, he was moste commended, that had moste wiues, as though the countrie were moste beholdyng to hym, that encreased thesame with the greatest nomber of childzen. Doe you seke to be compted

The hebrues and Persians had a number of wiues.

more holie then Abraham hymselfe? Well, he should neuer
Abraham. haue been coumpted the father of many nations, and that
through Gods furtheraunce, if he had forborne the compa-
nie of his wife. Doe you looke to be rekened more deuoute,
Jacob. then Jacob? He doubteth nothyng to raunsom Rachel from
her greate bondage. Will you bee taken for wiser then Sa-
Salomon. lomon? And yet I praie you, what a nomber of wiues kepte
he in one house? Will you be coumpted more chast then So-
Socrates. crates, who is reported to beare at home with Xãtippe, that
verie shrewe, and yet not so mothe therefore (as he is wonte
to iest, according to his old maner) bicause he might learne
pacience at home, but also bicause he might not seem to cum
behinde with his duetie, in doyng the will of nature. For he
beyng a manne, soche a one (as Appollo iudged hym by his
Oracle to bee wise) did well perceiue that he was gotte for
this cause, borne for this cause, and therefore bound to yelde
so mothe vnto Nature. For, if the olde aunciente Philoso-
phers haue saied well, if our Diuines haue proued the thing
not without reason, if it be vsed euery where, for a common
Prouerbe, and almoste in euery mannes mouthe, that nei-
ther God, nor yet Nature, did euer make any thyng in vain.

Why did he giue vs soche members, how happeneth we
haue soche lust, and soche power to gette issue, if the single
life and none other, bee altogether praise worthie? If one
should beestowe vpon you, a verie good thyng, as a Bowe, a
Coate, or a Swoorde, all menne would thinke, you were not
worthie to haue the thyng, if either you could not, or you
would not vse it, and occupie it. And where as al other thin-
ges, are ordeined vpon soche greate consideracions, it is not
like, that Nature slepte, or forgatte her self, when she made
this one thyng. And nowe, here will some saie, that this
fowle and filthie desire, and stirryng vnto lust, came neuer
in by Nature, but through sinne: for whose woordes I passe
not a Strawe, seeyng their saiynges are as false, as God is
true. For I praie you, was not Matrimonie Instituted)
whose woorke can not bee dooen, without these members)
before there was any syn. And again, whens haue all other
brute beastes their prouocacions? Of Nature, or of synne?
A manne would thinke, thei had them of Nature. But shall
I tell you at a woorde, wee make that filthie, by our own
imagination

imagination, whiche of the owne Nature, is good and godlie. Orels, if we will examine matters (not according to the opinion of men, but waigh them as thei are, of their owne Nature) how chaunceth it, that wee thinke it lesse filthie, to eate, to chewe, to digeste, to emptie the bodie, and to slepe, then it is to vse carnall Copulacion, soche as is lawfull, and permitted. Naie sir (you will saie) we muste followe vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dishe. As though any thyng can bee called verture, that is contrary vnto Nature. Assuredly, there is nothyng, that can bee perfectly gotte, either through labour, or through learnyng, if manne ground not his doynges, altogether vpon Nature.

But you will liue an Apostles life, soche as some of them did, that liued single, and exhorted other to thesame kinde of life. Tushe, let them followe the Apostles, that are Apostles in deede, whose office, seyng it is bothe to teache, and bryng vp the people in Gods doctrine: thei ar not able to discharge their duelties, bothe to their flocke, and to their wife and familie: although it is wel knowen, that some of the Apostles had wiues. But be it that Bisshoppes liue single, or graunt we theim, to haue no wiues. What, doe ye followe the profession of the Apostles, being one that is farthest in life from their vocacion: beeyng bothe a Temporall manne, and one that liueth of your owne. Thei had this Pardon graunted theim, to bee cleane voide from Mariage, to the ende thei might be at leasure, to gette vnto Christe, a more plentifull nomber of his children. Let this be the order of Prieستes and Monkes, who belike haue entred into Religion, and rule of the Essens (soche as emong the Iewes lothed Mariage) but your callyng is an other waie. Naie, but (you will saie) Christe hymself hath coumpted theim blessed, whiche haue gelded theim selues, for the kyngdome of God. Sir, I am content to admitte the authoritie, but thus I expounde the meanyng. Firste, I thinke that this doctrine of Christe, did chiefly belong vnto that tyme, when it behoued them chiefly to bee voide of all cares, and businesse of this worlde. Thei were faine to trauaile into all places, for the persecutours were euer readie to laie handes on theim. But nowe the worlde is so, that a manne can finde in no place, the vprightnesse of behauiour lesse stained, then emong maried folke.

Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes, set forth their order neuer so moche, lette theim boaste and bragge, their bealies full, of their Ceremonies and churche seruice, wherin thei chiefly passe all other: yet is Wedlocke (beyng well and truely kept) a moste holy kinde of life. Againe, would to God thei wer gelded in very deede, whatsoeuer thei be, that colour their naughtie liuyng, with soche a soylie name of geldyng, liuyng in moche more filthie lustе, vnder the cloke and pretence of Chastitie. Neither can I reporte for verie shame, into how filthie offences, thei doe often fall, that wil not vse that remedie, whiche Nature hath graunted vnto man. And laste of all, where doe you reade, that euer Christ commaunded any man, to liue single, and yet he doeth openly forbid diuorcement.

Priestes marriage.

Then he doeth not worste of all (in my iudgement) for the Common weale of mankinde, that graunted libertie vnto Priestes: yea, and Monkes also (if nede bee) to marie, and to take theim to their wiues, namely, seyng there is soche an vnreasonable nomber euery where, emong whom I praie you how many be there, that liue chaste. How moche better were it, to tourne their concubines into wiues, that where as thei haue theim now, to their greate shame, with an vnquiete conscience, thei might haue the other openly, with good reporte, and get children, and also bryng them vp godly, of whom, thei them selues, not onely might not be ashamed, but also might be coumpted honest men for them. And I thinke the bishops officers, would haue procured this matter long ago, if thei had not founde greate gaines, by Priestes lemmans, then thei wer like to haue by Priestes wiues.

Virginitie.

But virginitte forsoth, is an heauenly thing, it is an Angels life. I answere, wedlocke is a manly thyng, soche as is mete for man. And I talke now as man, vnto man. I graūt you, that virginitie, is a thing praise worthie, but so farre I am content, to speake in praise of it, if it be not so praised, as though the iuste should altogether folowe it, for if men commonly should begin to like it, what thing could be inuented more perilous to a common weale, then virginitie. Now, be it that other deserue great praise, for their maidenhede, you notwithstanding, can not want greate rebuke, seing it lieth in your handes, to kepe that house frō decaie, wherof you li-

neally

neallye descended, & to continue still the name of your auncestors, who deserue moste worthely to be knowen for euer. And laste of all, he deserueth as moche praise, as they which kepe their maydēhode: that kepes him selfe true to his wife and marieth rather for encrease of childzen, then to satisfy his luste. For if a brother be commaunded to stirre vp sede to his brother, that dieth without issue, will you suffer the hope of all your stocke to decaye, namely, seynge there is none other of your name and stocke, but your selfe alone, to continue the posteritie. I knowe well inough, that the auncient fathers haue set forthe in greate volumes, the praise of virginitie, emonge whom, Hierome doeth so take on, and praiseth it so moche aboue the starres, that he fell in maner to depraue Matrimonie, & therefore was required of Godly Bishoppes to cal backe his wordes that he had spoken. But let vs beare with soche heate for that time sake, I woulde wishe now, that thei, which exhort yong folke euery where, and without respecte (soche as yet knowe not themselfes) to liue a single life, and to profesſe virginitie: that they would bestowe thesame labour, in setting furth the discripcion of chaſt and pure wedlocke. And yet those bodies that are in soche great loue with virginitie, are well contented that menne shoulde fight againſt the Turkes, which in nomber are infinitely greater then we are. And now if these menne thinke right in this behalfe, it muſt nedes be thought right good and godly, to labour earneſtly for childrē getting, and to substitute youthe from time to time, for the maintenance of warre. Excepte parauenture they thinke that Gunnes, Billes, Pikes, and nauies, should be prouided for battaill, and that men stand in no stede at all with them. They also allowe it well, that we should kill miscreaunt and Heathen parentes, that the rather their childzen not knowing of it, might bee Baptized and made Christians. Nowe if this bee righte and lawfull, howe moche more gentleneſſe were it to haue childzen Baptized, beyng borne in lawfull mariage. There is no natiō so sauage, nor yet so hard harted, within the whole worlde, but thesame abhorreth murdering of infauntes, and newe borne babes. Kynges also and hedde rulers, dooe likewise punishe moste streightly, all soche as seke meanes to be deliuered before their time, or vse Phisicke to

Hieromes praise vpon Virginitie.

ware barren, and neuer to beare childzen. What is the reason? Marie thei compte small difference betwixt hym, that killeth the childe, so sone as it beginneth to quicken: and the other, that seketh al meanes possible, neuer to haue any child at all. The self same thing, that either withereth and dzieth awaie in thy body, or els putrifieth within thee, and so hurteth greatly thy healthe, yea, that self same, whiche falleth from thee in thy slepe, would haue been a man, if thou thy self haddest been a man. The Hebzues abhozre that manne, and wilshe him Goddes curse, that (beeyng commaunded to Marie, with the wife of his dedde bzother) did caste his seede vpon the grounde, least any issue should be had, and he was euer thought vnwozthie to liue here vpō yearth, that would not suffer that childe to liue, whiche was quicke in the mothers wombe. But I pzaie you, how little doe thei swarue from this offence, whiche binde themselues to liue barren, all the daies of their life? Doe thei not seeme to kill as many men, as were like to haue been bozne, if they had bestowed their endeuours, to haue got childzen? Now I pzaie you, if a man had land that were very fat and fertile, and suffred the same for lacke of manering, for euer to ware barren, should he not, or were he not wozthie to be punished by the lawes, considering it is for the common weales behoue, that euery man should wel and truely husband his owne. If that man bee punished, who little hedeth the maintenaunce of his tillage, the whiche although it bee neuer so well mancred, yet it yeldeth nothing els but wheat, barley, beanes, & peason: what punishement is he wozthy to suffre, that refuseth to plough that lande, whiche being tilled, yeldeth childzē. And for ploughing lande, it is nothing els, but painfull toilyng from time to time, but in getting childzen, there is pleasure, which being ordeined, as a redie reward for paines taking, asketh a shozt trauail for al the tillage. Therfore if the wozking of nature, if honestie, if bertue, if inward zeale, if godlinesse, if duetie maie moue you, why cā you not abide that, whiche God hath ordeined, nature hath established, reason doeth counsaill, Gods wozde and mannes woorde doe commende, all lawes doe commaunde, the consent of all nacions doeth allowe, whereunto also the exaple of all good men, doeth exhozt you. That if euery honest manne should desire

Hebzues.

many

many thinges, that are moste painfull for none other cause, but onely for that they are honest, no doubt but matrimonie ought aboue al other, moste of al to be desired, as the which we may doubt, whether it haue more honestie in it, or bring more delite and pleasure with it. For what can be more pleasaunt, then to liue with her, with whom not onely you shall be ioined, in felowship of faithfulnes, and most hartie good will, but also you shall be coupled together moste assuredly, with the companie of bothe your bodies? If we coumpt that greate pleasure, whiche wee receiue of the good will of our frendes & acquaintaunce, how pleasaunt a thing is it aboue all other, to haue one, with whō you male breake the botom of your harte, with whom ye male talke as freely, as with your self, into whose trust, you male safly commit your self, such a one as thinketh al your goodes to be her charge. Now what an heauenly blisse (trowe you) is the companie of man and wife together, seing that in all the world, there can nothing be found, either of greater weight & worthines, or els of more strength and assurance. For with frendes, we ioine onely with them in good wil, & faithfulnes of minde, but wt a wife, we are matched together, both in hart and minde, in body and soule, sealed together with the bōd & league of an holy sacrament, and parting al the goodes we haue, indifferently betwixt vs. Again when other are matched together in frendship, doe we not se what dissembling thei vse, what falshode they practise, & what deceiptful partes they plaie? Yea, euen those whō we thinke to be our most assured frendes, as swallowes flie awaie whē somer is past, so they hide their heddes, whē fortun ginnes to faile. And oft times whē we get a newe frend, we streight forsake our old. We hear tel of very few, that haue continued frendes, euen till their last end. Wheras the faithfulnes of a wife, is not stained wt deceipt, nor dusked with any dissembling, nor yet parted with any chaūge of the world, but discouered at last by death only, no not by death neither. She forsakes & settes light by father & mother, sister & brother for your sake, & for your loue only. She only pasteth vpō you, she puttes her trust in you, & leaneth wholi vpō you, yea, she desires to dy wt you. Haue you any worldly substance? You haue one that wil maintein it, you haue one ỹ wil encrease it. Haue you none? You haue a

wife that will get it. If you liue in prosperitee, your ioye is doubled: if the worlde go not with you, you haue a wife to put you in good comfort, to be at your commaundement, & redy to serue your desire, & to wishe that suche euill as hath happened vnto you, might chaūce vnto her self. And do you thinke ỹ any pleasure in al the world, is able to be cōpared with suche a goodly felowship & familier liuing together? if you kepe home, your wife is at hand to kepe your company, the rather ỹ you might fele no werines of liuing al alone, if you ride furth, you haue a wife to bid you fare well with a kisse, longing moche for you, being from home, and glad to bid you well come home, at your next returne. A swete mate in your youth, a thankfull comfort in your age. Euery societie or companyng together, is delitefull and wished for, by nature of all men, forasmoche as Nature hath ordeined vs to be, sociable, frendly, and louing together. Now, how cā this fellowship of man and wife, be otherwise then moste pleasaunt, where all thinges are common together betwixt them bothe. Now, I thinke he is moste worthy, to be despised aboue all other, that is borne, as a manne would sale for hymself, that liueth to hymself, that seketh for hymself, that spareth for himself, maketh coll onely vpon himself, that loueth no man, and no man loueth him. Would not a manne thinke that suche a monster, were mete to be calle out of all mennes companie (with Tymon that careth for no man) into the middeſt of the sea. Neither doe I here vtter vnto you, these pleasures of the body, the whiche, whereas nature hath made to be moste pleasaunt vnto man, yet these greate witted men, rather hide them, and dissemble them) I can not tel how (then vtterly contempne them. And yet what is he that is so sower of witte, and so drouping of braine (I will not sale) blockhedded, or insensate, that is not moued with suche pleasure, namely if he male haue his desire, without offence either of God or man, and without hinderaunce of his estimacion. Truely I would take suche a one, not to be a man, but rather to be a very stone. Although this pleasure of the bodie, is the leaſt parte of all those good thinges, that are in Wedlocke. But be it that you passe not vpon this pleasure, and thinke it vnworthy for man to vse it, although in deede we deserue not the name of man without it, but coumpt it

Timō a dedlie hater of al cōpanie.

emong

emong the leaſt and vttermoſt profites, that wedlocke hath: now I praie you, what can bee more hartely deſired, then chaſt loue, what can be more holie, what cā be more honeſt? And emong all theſe pleaſures, you get vnto you a ioly ſort of kinſfolk, in whom you maie take moche delite. You haue other parentes, other brethren, ſiſterne, and nephewes. Nature in deede can giue you but one father, and one mother: by mariage you get vnto you an other father, and an other mother, who cā not chuſe, but loue you with al their hartes, as the whiche haue put into your handes, their owne fleſhe and blood. Now againe, what a ioie ſhall this be vnto you, whē your moſte faire wife, ſhall make you a father, in bringing forthe a faire childe vnto you, where you ſhall haue a pretie little boie, running vp and doune your houſe, ſoche a one as ſhall expreſſe your loke, and your wiues loke, ſoche a one as ſhall call you dad, with his ſweete liſping woordes. Now laſte of all, when you are thus linked in loue, the ſame ſhall be ſo faſtened and bounde together, as though it were with the Adamant ſtone, that death it ſelf can neuer be able to vndo it. Thrife happie are thei (ſaith Horace) yea, more then thrife happie are thei, whom theſe ſure bandes doe hold, neither though thei are by euill reporters, full ofte ſet a ſonder, ſhall loue be vnloſed betwirt them twoo, til death thē bothe departe. You haue them that ſhall comfort you, in your latter daies, that ſhall cloſe vp your eyes, when God ſhall calle you, that ſhall burie you, and fulfill al thinges belonging to your funerall, by whom you ſhall ſeme, to bee newe borne. For ſo long as thei ſhall liue, you ſhal neuer be thought ded your ſelf. The goodes and landes that you haue got, go not to other heires, then to your own. So that vnto ſuch as haue fulfilled all thinges, that belong vnto mannes life, death it ſelf can not ſeme bitter. Olde age cometh vpon vs all, will we, or nil we, and this waie nature prouided for vs, that we ſhould ware yong again in our children, and nephues. For, what man can be greued, that he is olde, when he ſeeth his owne countenaunce, whiche he had beyng a child, to appere liuely in his ſonne? Death is ordeined for all mankinde, and yet by this meanes onely, nature by her prouidēce, mindeth vnto vs a certaine immortalitie, while ſhe encreaſeth one thing vpon an other, euen as a young graffe buddeth out,

when the old tree is cut doune. Neither can he seme to dye, that, when God calleth him, leaueth a yong childe behinde him. But I knowe wel enough, what you saie to your self, all this while of my long talke. Mariage is an happie thing if all thinges hap well, what and if one haue a curste wife? What if she be light? What if his children bee vngracious? Thus I se you will remember all soche men, as by mariage haue been vndooen. Well, go to it, tell as many as you can, and spare not: you shall finde all these wer the faultes of the persones, and not the faultes of Mariage. For beleue me, none haue euill wiues, but soche as are euill men. And as for you sir, you maie chuse a good wife, if ye liste. But what if she be croked, and marde altogether, for lacke of good ordering. A good honest wife, maie be made an euill woman, by a naughtie husebande, and an euil wife, hath been made a good woman, by an honest manne. We crie out of wiues vntruly, and accuse them without cause. There is no man (if you will beleue me) that euer had an euill wife, but thorowe his owne default. Now again, an honest father, bringeth forthe honest children, like vnto himself. Although euē these children, how so euer they ar borne, commonly become soche men, as their education and bringing vp is. And as for iealousie, you shall not nede to feare that fault at al. For none be troubled with soche a disease, but those onely that are folishe louers. Chaste, godly, and lawfull loue, neuer knewe what iealousie ment. What meane you to call to your minde and remember soche sore tragedies, and dolefull dealinges, as haue been betwixt man and wife. Soche a woman being naught of her body, hath caused her husband to lose his hed, an other hath poisoned her good manne, the third with her churlish dealing) whiche her husbande could not beare) hath been his outer vndoing, and brought him to his ende. But I praie you sir, why doe you not rather thinke vpon Cornelia, wife vnto Tiberius Graccus? Why doe ye not minde that moste worthie wife, or that moste vnworthie manne Alceste? Why remember ye not Julia Pompeies wife, or Porcia Brutus wife? And why not Artemisia, a womanne moste worthy, euer to be remembred? Why not Hipsicratea wife vnto Mithridates king of Pōtus? Why doe ye not call to remēbraunce, the gentle nature of Tertia Aemilia? Why

Euill wiues happē to euill men onely.

Iealousie vnknowen to wisemen.

Cornelia.

Alcestes wife
Julia.
Porcia.
Artemesia,
Hipsicratea.
Tertia Aemilia.

doe

doe ye not consider the faithfulnesse of Turia? Why cometh not Lucrecia and Lentula to your remembrance? And why not Arria? why not thousandes other, whose chastite of life, and faithfulnesse towardes their housebandes, could not be chaunged, no, not by death. A good woman) you will saie) is a rare birde, and harde to be founde in all the worlde. Well then sir, imagine your self worthy to haue a rare wife, suche as fewe men haue. A good woman (saieth the wiseman) is a good portiō. Be you bolde to hope for suche a one, as is worthy your maners. The chiefest point standeth in this, what maner of woman you chuse, how you vse her, and how you order your self towardes her. But libertie) you will saie) is muche more pleasaunt: for, who soever is maried, weareth fetters vpō his legges, or rather carieth a clogge, the whiche he can neuer shake of, till death parte their yoke. To this I answere, I can not se what pleasure a man shal haue, to liue alone. For if libertie be delitfull, I would thinke you should get a mate vnto you, with whō you should parte stakes, and make her priuie of all your toies. Neither can I se any thing more free, then is the seruitude of these twoo, where the one is so moche beholding, and bound to the other, that neither of theim bothe would be louse, though they might. You are bounde vnto hym, whom you receiue into your frendship: but in mariage neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is taken awaie from them. Yet ones againe you are sore afraied, least when your children are taken awaie by death, you fall to mourning for want of issue. Well sir, if you fear lack of issue, you must mary a wife for your self same purpose, the whiche onely shall be a meane, that you shall not wante issue. But what doe you searche so diligently, naie so carefully, all the incommodities of Matrimonie, as though single life, had neuer any incommoditie ioigned with it at all. As though there were any kinde of life, in all the worlde, that is not subiecte to all euilles that maie happen. He must nedes go out of this worlde, that lookes to liue without feeling of any grief. And in comparison of that life, whiche the Saintes of God shall haue in heauen, this life of man is to be compted a death, and not a life. But if you consider thinges, within the compasse of mankinde, there is nothing either more sauke, more quiet, more pleasaunt, more to be de-

Turia. Lucretia. Lentula. Arria.

Proner. 18.

sired,

ſired, or more happie, then is the maried mannes life. How many do you ſe, that hauing ones felt the ſwetneſſe of wedlocke, dooeth not deſire eftſones to enter into theſame? My frende Mauricius, whom yow know to be a very wiſe man, did not he, the nert moneth after his wife died (whom he lo-ued derely) get him ſtraight a newe wife? Not that he was impacient of his luſt, and could not forbeare any longer, but he ſaied plainly, it was no life for him, to be without a wife, whiche ſhould be with him, as his yoke fellowe, and compa-nion in all thinges. And is not this the folwerth wife, that our fréd Iouius hath maried? And yet he ſo loued the other, when thei were on liue, that none was able to comfort him in his heauineſſe: and now he haſtened ſo moche (when one was dedde) to fill vp and ſupplie the voide roume of his châ-ber, as though he had loued the other very little. But what dooe we talke ſo moche of the honeſtie and pleaſure herein, ſeing that not onely profite doeth aduiſe vs, but alſo neede doeth earneſtlie force vs, to ſeke Mariage. Let it be forbidde that manne and woman, ſhall not come together, and with in fewe yeres, all mankinde muſte needes decaie for euer.

Neceſſitie enforceth mariage.

Xerxes.

When Xerxes king of the Perſians, beholde from an high place, that greate armie of his, ſoche as almoſte was incredible, ſome ſaied he could not forbeare weping, conſidering of ſo many thouſandes, there was not one like to be a liue, within ſeuentie yeres after. Now, why ſhould not we cõſider theſame of all mankinde, whiche he meante onely of his armie. Take awaie Mariage, and how many ſhall remain after a hundred yeres, of ſo many realmes, countries, kingdomes, citees, and al other aſſemblies that be of men, through out the whole worlde? On now, praiſe we a Gods name, the ſingle life aboue the nocke, the whiche is like for euer to vndoe all mankinde. What plague, what infection can either heauen or hell, ſende more harmefull vnto mãkinde? What greater euill is to be feared by any flood? What could be loked for, more forowfull, although the flame of Phaeton ſhould ſette the worlde on fire again? And yet by ſoche ſore tempeſtes, many thinges haue been ſaued harmeleſſe, but by the ſingle life of man, there can be nothing left at al. We ſe what a ſort of diſeaſes, what diuerſities of miſſehappes do night & daie lie in waite to leſſen the ſmall nomber of mankinde.

kinde. How many doeth the plague destroie, how many doe the seas swallowe, how many doeth battaile snatch vp? For I will not speake of the daiely dying, that is in all places. Death taketh her flight euery where, round about, she runneth ouer them, she catcheth them vp, she hasteneth asmoche as she can possible, to destroie al mankinde, and now doe we so highly commende single life, and eschue mariage? Except happely we like the profession of the Essens (of whom Josephus speaketh, that thei will neither haue wife, nor seruaūtes) or the Dulopolitans, called otherwise the rascalles, and slaues of citees, the whiche companie of them, is alwaie encreased, and continued by a sort of vagabounde peasauntes, that continue, and be from tyme to tyme, still together. Doe we loke that some Jupiter, should giue vs that same gift, the which he is reported, to haue giuē vnto Bees, that we should haue issue, without procreation, and gather with our mouthes, out of the flowers, the sede of our posteritie? Or els do we desire, that like as the Poetes fein Minerua, to be borne out of Jupiters hedde: in like sort there should children lepe out of our heddes? Or laste of all doe we looke, accordyng as the old fables haue been, that men should be borne out of the yearth, out of rockes, out of stockes, stones, and old Trees. Many thinges breede out of the yearth, without mannes labour at all. Yong shrubbes growe and shoute vp, vnder the shadowe of their graundsire trees. But nature would haue man, to vse this one waie, of increasyng issue, that through labour of bothe the housebande and wife, mankinde might still be kept from destruction. But I promise you, if all men toke after you, and stil forbare to marie: I can not se but that these thynges, whiche you wonder at, and esteme so moche, could not haue been at all. Do you yet esteme this single life so greatly? Or dooe we praise so moche virginitie, aboue all other? Why man, there will be neither single men, nor virgines a liue, if men leaue to marie, and minde not procreation. Why dooe you then preferre virginitie so moche, why set it you so hie, if it be the vndoyng of all the whole worlde? It hath been moche commended, but it was for that tyme, and in fewe. God would haue men to se, as though it were a paterne, or rather a picture of the heauēly habitacion, where neither any shall be maried, nor yet any shall giue theirs to

Essens hated Mariage.

Josephus. 18. Cap. lib. 11.

Mariage,

Mariage. But when thinges be giuen for an exãple, a fewe male ſuffiſe, a nomber were to no purpoſe. For euen as all groundes, though they bee very fruitfull, are not therefore tourned into Tillage, for mannes vſe and commoditie, but part lieth fallowe, and is neuer mannered, part is kept and cheriſed to like the eye, and for mannes pleaſure: and yet in all this plentie of thinges, where ſo greate ſtore of lande is, nature ſuffereth very little to ware barren: but now if none ſhould be tilled, and plowe menne went to plaie, who ſeeth not, but that we ſhould all ſterue, and be fain ſhortly to eate acornes: euen ſo, it is praiſe worthy, if a few liue ſingle, but if all ſhould ſeke to liue ſingle, ſo many as be in this world, it were to great an inconuenience. Now againe, be it that other deſerue worthy praiſe, that ſeke to liue a virgines life, yet it muſt nedes bee a greate faulte in you. Other ſhall bee thought to ſeke a pureneſſe of life, you ſhall bee coumpted a parricide, or a murtherer of your ſtocke: that whereas you maie by honeſt mariage, encreaſe your poſteritie: you ſuffer it to decaie for euer, through your wilfull ſingle life. A man maie, hauing an houſe full of childzen, cõmende one to God to liue a virgine all his life. The plowe man offreth to God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole croppe all toge-ther: but you ſir, muſt remember that ther is none left aliue of all your ſtocke, but your ſelf alone. And now it mattereth nothing, whether you kille, or refuſe to ſaue that creature, whiche you onely might ſaue, and that with eaſe. But you will folow the example of your ſiſter, and liue ſingle as ſhe doeth. And yet me thinketh you ſhould chiefly, euen for this ſelf ſame cauſe be afraied to liue ſingle. For whereas there was hope of iſſue heretofore in you bothe, now ye ſe there is no hope left, but in you onely. Be it that your ſiſter maie be borne withall, bicauſe ſhe is a woman, and bicauſe of her yeres, for ſhe being but a girle, and ouercome with ſorowe, for loſſe of her mother, toke the wrong waie, ſhe caſt her ſelf doune hedlong, and became a Nunne, at the earneſt ſute ei-ther of fooliſhe women, or els of doultiſhe monkes: but you being moche elder, muſt euermore remember that you are a man. She would neades die together with her auncеſters, you muſt labor, that your auncеſters ſhal not die at al. Your ſiſter would not doo her duetie, but ſhranke awaie: thinke

you

you now with your self, that you haue twoo offices to discharge. The doughters of Loth neuer stucke at the matter, to haue a doue with their dronken father, thinking it better with wicked whoredome and incestе, to prouide for their posteritie, then to suffer their stocke to die for euer. And will not you with honest, godly, and chaste mariage (whiche shal be without trouble, and turne to your greate pleasure) haue a regard to your posteritie, moste like els for euer to decaie? Therefore, let them on Gods name, followe the purpose of chaste Hippolitus, let them liue a single life, that either can be maried men, & yet can get no children, or els suche, whose stocke maie be continued, by meanes of other their kinsfolk, or at the least whose kindred is suche, that it were better for the cómon weale, they were all dedde, then that any of that name should bee a liue, or els suche men, as the euerliuyng God, of his moste especiall goodnesse, hath chosen out of the whole worlde, to execute some heauenly office, whereof there is a marueilous small nomber. But wheras you, according to the reporte of a Phisicion, that neither is vnlearned, nor yet is any liar, are like to haue many childrē hereafter, seing also you are a man of greate landes, and reuenues by your auncestors, the house whereof you came, beyng bothe right honourable, and right auncient, so that you could not suffer it to perishe, without your greate offence, and great harme to the common weale: againe, seing you are of lustie yeres, and very comely for your personage, and maie haue a maide to your wife, suche a one as none of your countrie hath knowen, any to bee more absolute for all thinges, commyng of as noble a house, as any of theim, a chaste one, a sober one, a godly one, an excellent faire one, hauing with her a wonderfull dowrie: Seeyng also your frendes desire you, your kinsfolke weepe to winne you, your cousins and alliaunce, are earnest in hand with you, your countrie calles and cries vpon you: the ashes of your auncestors from their graues, make hartie sute vnto you, doue you yet holde backe, doue you still minde to liue a single life? If a thing wer asked you that were not halfe honest, or the whiche you could not well compasse, yet at thinstaunce of your frendes, or for the loue of your kinsfolke, you would be ouercome, & yeld to their requestes: then how much more reasonable wer it, that the weeping

Doughters of Loth.

The conclusion.

ping teares of your frēdes, the hartie good will of your coū-trie, the deare loue of your elders, might winne that thyng at your handes, vnto the whiche, bothe the lawe of God and man, doeth exhorte you, Nature pricketh you forward, reason leadeth you, honestie allureth you, so many commodities call you, and last of all, necessitie it self doeth constrain you. But here an ende of all reasonyng. For I truste you haue now, and a good while ago, chaunged your minde, through myne aduise, and taken your self, to better counsaile.

¶ Of exortacion.

Exhorting. THE places of exhortyng, and dehortyng, are the same, whiche we vse in perswadyng, and dissuadyng, sauyng that he, whiche vseth perswasion, seketh by argumētes, to compasse his deuise: he that labours to exhorte, doeth stirre affeccion.

Erasmus sheweth these to be moste especiall places, that doe partain vnto exhortacions.

- Praise, or Commendacion.
- Expectacion of all men.
- Hope of victorie.
- Hope of renowme.
- Feare of shame.
- Greatnesse of reward.
- Rehearsall of examples, in all ages, and especially, of thynges lately doen.

Praising a deede. PRaising, is either of the man, or of some dede doen. We shal exhort men to doe the thing, if we shewe them, that it is a worthy attept, a godly enterprise and suche as fewe men, hetherto haue aduentured

Praising a man, the rather to encourage him. In praising a man, we shall exhort him to go forward, considering it agreeth, with his wonted manhode, and that hetherto he hath not slacked, to hasard boldly, vpon the beste & worthiest deedes, requiryng hym to make this ende answerable, to his moste worthy beginnynges, that he maie ende with honor, which hath so long cōtinued in suche renoume. For it wer a foule shame, to lose honor through foly, which hath been gotte through vertue, and to appere moste slacke in keepyng it, then he semed carefull at the first, to attain it.

Again, whose name is renoumed, his doynges from time

to

to tyme, will be thought more wonderfull, and greater promises will men make vnto them selues, of soche mennes aduentures, in any cõmon affaires, then of others, whose vertues are not yet knowen. A notable master of fence, is marueilous to behold, and men loke earnestly to se hym do some wonder: how moche more will thei looke, when thei heare tell, that a noble capitain, and an aduenturous prince, shall take vpon hym the defence, and sauegard of his countrey, against the raging attemptes of his enemies? Therfore a noble man can not but go forward, with moste earnest will, seyng all men haue soche hope in hym, and coumpt hym to be their onely comfort, their fortresse, and defence. And the rather to encourage soche right worthy, we maie put them in good hope, to compasse their attempt, if we shewe them that God is an assured guide vnto al those, that in an honest quarell, aduenture them selues, and shew their manly stomack. Sathan hymself, the greatest aduersarie that man hath, yeldeth like a captiue, when God doeth take our part, moche soner shall all other be subiect vnto hym, and crie *Peccauí*, for if God be with hym, what mattereth who be against hym?

Expectation of all men.

Hope of victorie.

Now, when victorie is gotte, what honour doeth ensue? Here openeth a large field, to speake of renoume, fame, and endles honour. In all ages the worthiest men, haue alwaies aduẽtured their carcases, for the sauegard of their countrie, thinking it better to die with honor, then to liue with shame Again, the ruin of our realme, should put vs to more shame, then the losse of our bodies, should tourne vs to smarte. For our honestie beyng stained, the paine is endlesse, but our bodies beyng gored, either the wounde maie sone be healed, or els our paine being sone ended, the glory endureth for euer.

Fame followeth worthy feactes.

Shame followeth fearfulnesse, when man hod is thought nedefull.

Lastly, he that helpeth the nedy, defẽdeth his poore neighbours, and in the fauour of his countrey, bestoweth his life: will not God besides all these, place hym where he shall liue for euer, especially, seyng he hath doone all these enterprises in faithe, and for Christes sake?

Heauen, the reward of haulte Capitaines.

Now, in all ages, to recken soche as haue been right Souerain, and victorious, what name got the worthie Scipio, that withstoode the rage of Annibal? What brute hath Cesar, for his moste worthy conquests? What triumph of glory doeth sound in all mennes eares, vpon the onely naming

of mightie Alexander, and his father king Philip? And now to come home, what hedde can expresse, the renoumed Henrie the fifte kyng of Englande, of that name, after the Conquest? What witte can set out, the wonderfull wisedome of Henrie the seuenth, and his greate foresighte, to espie mischiefe like to ensue, and his politique deuises, to escape daungers, to subdue rebelles, and to maintain peace?

¶ Of mouyng pitie, and stirryng men to shewe mercie.

Mouyng of pitie.

LIkewise, we maie exhorte men to take pitie of the fatherlesse, the widowe, and the oppressed innocēt, if we set before their yes, the lamentable afflictions, the tyrannous wrōges, and the miserable calamities, whiche these poore wretches doe sustaine. For if fleshe and bloode, moue vs to loue our children, our wiues, and our kinsfolke: moche more should the spirite of God, and Christes goodnes towardes man, stirre vs to loue our neighbours moste entierly. These exhortacions, the preachers of God, maie most aptly vse, when thei open his Gospell to the people, and haue iuste cause, to speake of soche matters.

¶ Of Commendyng.

The maner of commendyng.

IN commendyng a man, we vse this reporte of his witte, honestie, faithfull seruice, painfull laboure, and carefull nature, to doe his maisters will, or any soche like, as in the Epistles of Tullie, there ar examples infinite.

¶ Of Comfortyng.

The maner of cōfortyng.

NOw after all these, the weake would be cōforted, and the sorowfull would bee cherished, that their grief might be asswaged, and the passions of man brought vnder the obedience of reason. The vse hereof is greate, aswell in priuate troubles, as in common miseries. As in losse of goodes, in lacke of frēdes, in sickenes, in darth, and in death. In all whiche losses, the wise vse so to comfort the weake, that thei giue them not iuste cause, euen at the first, to refuse all comfort. And therefore, thei vse twoo waies, of cherishing the troubled mindes. The one is, when we shewe that in some cases, and for some causes, either thei should not lament at all, or els be sorie verie little: the other is when we graunte, that thei haue iuste cause to bee sadde, and therefore we are sadde also, in their behalfe, and would

Comfortyng twoo waies vsed.

remedy

remedy the matter, if it could be, and thus enteryng into fe-
lowshyp of sorowe, we seke by a little and little, to mitigate
their grief. For all extreme beautie, and vehemente so-
rowes, can not abide coumfort, but rather seke a mourner,
that would take part with theim.

Therefore, moche warinesse ought to bee vsed, when we
happen vpon soche excedyng sorowfull, least we rather pur-
chase hatred, then allwage grief.

Those harmes should be moderatly borne, whiche muste
nedes happen to euery one, that haue chaunced to any one.
As Death, whiche spareth none, neither Kyng, nor Caisar,
neither poore, nor riche. Therefore, to be impaciente for the
losse of our frendes, is to fall out with God, bicause he made
vs menne, and not Angelles. But the godly (I truste) will al-
waies remitte the order of thynges, to the will of God, and
force their passions, to obeie necessitie. When God lately vi-
sited this realme, with the Sweatyng disease, and receiued
the twoo worthie gentlement, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and
his brother Lorde Charles: I seyng my Ladies grace, their
mother, takyng their death moste greuously, could not o-
therwise for the duetie, which I then did, and euer shall owe
vnto her, but comfort her in that her beautie, the whiche
vndoubtedly at that tyme, moche weakened her bodie. And
bicause it maie serue for an example of comfort, I haue been
bolde to set it forthe, as it foloweth hereafter.

Sweatyng disease.

¶ An example of comforte.

THough myne enterprise maie be thought foolishe,
and my doinges very slender, in busyng my brain
to teache the experte, to giue counsaile to other,
when I lacke it my self, and whereas more neede
were for me, to be taught of other, to take vpon me to teache
my betters, yet duetie bindyng me, to doo my beste, and e-
monge a nomber, though I can doo leaste, yet good will set-
ting me foorth with the formeste: I can not chuse but write,
what I am hable, and speake what I can possible, for the
better coumfortyng of your grace, in this your greate hea-
uinesse, and sore visitacion sent from GOD, as a warnyng
to vs all. The Phisician then deserueth moste thanke, when
he practiseth his knowledge, in tyme of necessitie, and then
trauaileth moste painfully, when he seeleth his paciente

to be in moste daunger. The soldiour at that time, and at no time so moche, is thought moste truste, when he sheweth at a neede his faithfull harte, and in tyme of extreme daunger dooeth vse, and bestowe his mooste earneste labour. In the wealth of this worlde, what vallaunt manne can want assistence? What mightie prince can misse any helpe, to compasse his desire? Who lacketh men, that lacketh no money. But when God striketh the mightie, with his strong hande, and displaceth those, that were highly placed: what one manne doeth ones looke backe, for the better easemente of his deare brother, and godly comforting his euen christen, in the chief of all his sorowe. All menne commonly, more reioyce in the Sonne rising, then thei doe in the Sonne setting. The hope of lucre, and expectation of priuate gaine, maketh many one to beare out a countenaunce of fauoure, whose harte is inwardly fretted with deadly rancour. But soche frendes, euen as prosperitie dooeth get them, so aduersitie dooeth trie them. God is the searcher of euery mannes thoughte, vnto whose iudgement, I referre the assuraunce of my good will.

And though I can doe little, and therefore deserue as little thanke, as I loke for praise (whiche is none at all) yet will I endeuour earnestly at all tymes, aswell for mine own discharge, to declare my duetie, as at this present to sate somewhat, for the better easement of your grace, in this your heuinesse. The passions of the minde, haue diuers effectes, and therefore woorke straungely, according to their properties. For, like as ioie comforteth the harte, nourisheth blood, and quickeneth the whole bodie: So heauinesse and care, hinder digestion, ingender euill humours, waste the principall partes, and with tyme consume the whole bodie. For the better knowlege thereof, and for a liuely sight of the same, we nede not to seke farre for any example, but euen to come straight vnto your grace, whose bodie as I vnderstand crediblie, and partly see my self, is sore appaired, within shorte tyme, your mynde so troubled, and your harte so heauie, that you hate in a maner all light, you like not the sight of any thing, that might be your coumfort, but altogether striken in a dumpe, you seeke to bee solitarie, detesting all ioye, and delityng in sorowe, wishe with harte (if it were Goddes will) to make your laste ende. In whiche your heauinesse, as I desire to be

Passions woorke diuerslie.

a coumfortour of your grace, so I can not blame your naturall sorowe, if that nowe after declaration of thesame, you would moderate all your grief hereafter, and call back your pensifenes, to the prescripte order of reason.

And firste, for the better remeadie of euery disease, and troubled passion, it is beste to knowe the principall cause, and chief occasion of thesame. Your grace had twoo sonnes how noble, how wittie, how learned, and how Godlie, many thousandes better knowe it, then any one is able well to tell it. GOD at his pleasure hath taken theim bothe to his mercie, and placed them with him, whiche were surely ouer good to tarie here with vs. Thei bothe died, as your grace knoweth verie young, whiche by course of Nature, and by mannes estimacion, might haue liued moche longer. They bothe were together in one house, lodged in twoo seuerall chambers, and almoste at one time bothe sickened, and both departed. They died bothe Dukes, bothe well learned, both wise, and bothe right Godlie. They bothe gaue straunge tokens of death to come. The elder sitting at supper, and verie merie, saied sodainlie, to that right honest matrone, and Godlie aged gentilwoman, that moste faithfull, and longe assured seruaunte of yours, whose life GOD graunte long to continue: Oh Lorde, where shall we suppe to morowe at night, whereupon she beyng troubled, and yet saiyng comfortablie, I trust my Lord, either here, or els where at some of your frendes houses: Nate (q he) wee shall neuer Suppe together againe in this worlde, bee you well assured, and with that, seyng the gentil woman discomforted, tourned it vnto mirthe, and passed the reste of his Supper with moche ioye, and thesame night after twelue of the Clocke, beyng the fowertene of Julie sickened, and so was taken the nexte morowyng, about seuen of the clocke, to the mercie of God, in the yere of our Lorde, a thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and one. When the eldeste was gone, the younger (would not tarie, but tolde before) hauing no knowledge thereof by any bodie liuyng) of his brothers death, to the greate wonderyng of all that were there, declaryng what it was to lose so deare a frende, but coumfortyng himself in that passion, saied: well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter, for I will go straight after him, and so did, within the space

of halfe an howre, as your grace can beste tell, whiche was there present. Now I renewe these wordes, to your graces knowlege, that you might the more stedfastly, consider their tyme, to bee then appointed of GOD, to forsake this euill worlde, and to liue with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, in the kyngdome of heauen. But wherefore did GOD take twoo soche awaie, and at that tyme? Surely, to tell the principall cause, we maie by all likenesse affirme, that thei were taken awaie from vs, for our wretched sinnes, & moste vile naughtinesse of life, that thereby we beyng warned, might bee as ready for God, as thei now presently were, and amende our liues in tyme, whom God will calle, what tyme we knowe not. Then as I can see, we haue small cause to lamente the lacke of them, whiche are in soche blessed state, but rather to amende our owne liuyng, to forthynke vs of our offences, and to wishe of God, to purge our hartes, from all filthines and vngodly dealyng, that we maie be (as thei now be) blessed with God for euer. Notwithstanding, the workes of god are vnsearcheable, without the compasse of mannes braine, precisely to comprehende the verie cause, sauyng that this perswasion ought surely to be grounded in vs, euermore to thynke that God is offended with synne, and that he punisheth offences, to the thirde and fowerth generacion, of all them that breake his commaundementes, beyng iuste in all his workes, and doyng all thinges for the beste. And therefore, when God plagueth in soche sort, I would wisshe, that our faithe might alwaies be staied, vpon the admiracion of Gods glorie, throughout all his doynges, in whom is none euill, neither yet was there euer any guile founde. And I doubte not, but your grace is thus affected, and vnfainedlie confessing your owne offences, taketh this scourge, to come from God, as a iuste punishmente of synne, for the amendement, not onely of your owne self, but also for the amendement of all other in generalle. The lamentable voice of the poore (whiche is the mouthe of God) throughout the whole realme declares full welle, the wickednesse of this life, and shewes plainly, that this euill is more generally felte, then any man is able by worde, or by writyng, at ful to set forth.

The cause why God taketh awaie the moste worthiest.

When God therefore, that is lorde, not onely of the riche but also of the poore, seeth his grounde spoyled, from the wholsome

wholsome profite of many, to the vaine pleasure of a fewe, and the yearth made priuate, to suffice the lust of vnsaciable couetousnesse, and that those, whiche be his true members, can not liue for the intollerable oppression, the sore enhaunsing, and the moste wicked grasing of those, throughout the whole realme, whiche otherwise might well liue, with the onely value and somme of their lãdes, and yerely reuenues: he striketh in his anger the innocentes, and tender yonglinges, to plague vs with the lacke of theim, whose innocencie and godlinesse of life, might haue been a iuste example for vs to amende our moste euill doynges. In whiche wonderfull worke of GOD, when he receiued these twoo moste noble impes, and his children elected, to the euerlastyng kingdom, I can not but magnifie his moste glorious name, from tyme to tyme, that hath so graciously preserued these twoo worthie gentlemen, from the daunger of further euill, and most vile wretchednesse, moste like right shortlie to ensue, excepte we all repente, and forthinke vs of our former euill liuyng. And yet I speake not this, as though I knewe any crime, to be more in you, then in any other: But I tell it to the shame of all those vniuersally, within this realme, that are giltie of soche offences, whose inward consciences, condemne their own doynges, and their open deedes beare witnesse against their euill nature. For it is not one house, that shall feele the fall of these twoo Princes, neither hath GOD taken them, for one priuate persones offences: but for the wickednesse of the whole realme, whiche is like to feele the smarte, excepte God be mercifull vnto vs.

But now that thei bee gone, though the flesshe bee fraile, weake, and tender, and must nedes smarte, beyng wounded or cutte: yet I doubt not but your grace, lackyng twoo soche portions of your owne flesshe, and hauyng them (as a manne would saie) cut awaie from your owne bodie, will suffer the smarte with a good stomacke, and remember that sorowe is but an euill remedy, to heale a sore. For if your hand wer detrenched, or your bodie maimed, with some sodaine stroke, what profite were it for you, to wepe vpon your wound, and when the harme is doen, to lament still the sore? Seyng that with weping, it wil not be lesse, I male yet through wepyng fall sone be made more. For the sore is increased, whē sorow

where necessitie ruleth, sorowe is needelesse.

is added, and the paine is made double, whiche before was but single. A Constaunt Christian, should beare all miserie, and with pacience abide the force of necessitie, shewyng with sufferaunce the strengthe of his faithe, and especiallie, when the chaunge is from euil to good, from woe to weale, what folie is it to sorowe that, for the whiche thei ioye, that are departed? They haue taken nowe their reste, that liued here in trauaile: Thei haue forsaken their bodies, wherein thei were bounde, to receiue the Spirite, whereby they are free. They haue chosen for sickenesse, healthe: for yearthy, heauē: for life transitorie, life immortall: and for man, God: then the whiche, what cā they haue more? Or how is it possible thei can be better? Undoubtedlie if euer they were happie, thei are now moste happie: if euer they were well, they are nowe in beste case, beeyng deliuered from this presente euill worlde, and exempted from Sathan, to liue for euer with Christ our Sauiour.

Then what meane we, that not onely lament the wante of other, but also desire to tarie here our selues, hoping for a shorte, vaine, and therewith a painfull pleasure, and refusing to enioye that continuall, perfect, & heauenlie enheritaunce, the whiche so sone shall happen vnto vs, as Nature dissolueth this yearthly body. Truthe it is, we are more fleshlie then Spirituall, soner felyng the ache of our bodie, then the grief of our soule: more studious with care, to bee healthfull in carkasse, then sekyng with praier, to bee pure in Spirite. And therefore, if our frendes be stained with sinne, we dooe not, or we will not espie their sore, we coumpte theim faultlesse, whē thei are moste wicked: neither sekyng the redresse of their euill dooyng, nor yet ones amendyng the faultes of our owne liuyng.

The folie of soch as sorow the wante of their frendes

But when our frende departeth this worlde, and then forsaketh vs, when sinne forsaketh hym: we begin to shewe our fleshlie natures, we wepe, and we waile, and with long sorowe without discretion, declare our wante of Goddes grace, & all goodnesse. For whereas we see that as some be borne, some dooe die also, menne, women, and children, and not one houre certaine to vs of all our life, yet wee neuer mourne, we neuer wepe, neither marking the death of soch as we know, nor regarding ye euill life of those whō we loue.

But

But when suche departe as were either nighest of our kinred, or els moste our frends, we then lament without all cõfort, not the sinnes of their soules, but the chaunge of their bodyes, leauing to dooe that whiche we should, and doyng that onely whiche we shoulde not doo at all. Wherein not onely we declare muche wante of Faithe, but also we shew greate lacke of wytte. For as the other are gone before, either to heauen or els to hell: so shall oure frendes and kinsfolke folowe after. Wee are all made of one metall, and ordeyned to dye, so manie as liue. Therfore what folye is it in vs, or rather what slethelye madnesse immoderatelye to wayle their death, whom God hath ordeined to make their ende, excepte we lamente the lack of our owne liuing? For euen as well we myght at their first byrthe bewaile their natiuitie, considering they muste nedes dye, because they are borne to lyue. And whath soeuer hath a beginning, the same hath also an endinge, and the ende is not at oure will, whiche desire cõtinuance of life, but at his will whiche gaue the beginnige of life. Now then seing God hath ordeined all to dye, according to his appointed wil, what meane they that woulde haue theirs to liue? Shall God alter his fyxt purpose for the onely satisfyng of oure folych pleasure? And where God hathe minded that the whole worlde shal decay, shall any man desire that any one house may stand? In my mynde, there can be no greater comforte to any one liuinge for the lack of his frende, thã to thincke that this happened to him, whyche all other eyther haue felte, or elles shal feele here after: And that God the rather made Deathe cõmune to all, that the vniuersall plague and egalnes to all, myght abate the fiercenes of death, and comfore vs in the crueltie of the same, considerinye no one man hath an ende, but that all shall haue the lyke, and dye we muste euerye mothers sonne of vs, at one time or other. But you wil saye: my children might haue liued longer, they dyed younge. Sure it is by mannes estimation they might haue liued longer, but had it bene best for them thinke you, to haue cõtinued styl in this wretched worlde, where Vyce beareth rule, and Vertu is subdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not obserued, his word abused, & his Prophets that preache the sudgemente of God almoste euery wher cõtemned? If your chil-

Death cõmon to all.

Euill to liue emõg the euil.

dren

dzen wer a liue, and by thaduise of some wicked persone, wer
brought to a brothell house, where entising harlottes liued,
and so wer in daunger, to commit that foule sinne of whor-
dome, and so, ledde from one wickednesse to an other: I am
assured, your grace would call them backe with labour, and
would with exhortacions, induce theim to the feare of God,
and vtter detestacio of all sinne, as you haue full often here-
tofore doen, rather fearing euill to come, then knowing any
open faulte, to bee in either of theim. Now then, seyng God
hath doen the same for you hym self, that you would haue
doen for theim, if thei had liued, that is, in deliuerying theim
bothe, from this present euill world, whiche I coumpt none
other, then a brothell house, and a life of all noughtines: you
ought to thanke God highly, that he hath taken awaie your
twoo sonnes, euen in their youth, beyng innocentes bothe
for their liuing, and of suche expectation for their towardnes
that almoste it were not possible for them hereafter, to satis-
fie the hope in their age, whiche all men presently had con-
ceiued of their youth. It is thought, and in dede it is no lesse
then a greate point of happines, to die happely. Now, when
could your two noble gentlemen, haue died better, then whe
thei were at the beste, moste godly in many thynges, offen-
dyng in few, beloued of the honest, and hated of none (if euer
thei wer hated) but of suche as hate the beste. As in deede, no-
ble vertue neuer wāted cankarde enuie, to followe her. And
consideryng that this life is so wretched, that the beste are
euer moste hated, and the vileste alwaies moste esteemed, and
your twoo sonnes of the other side, beyng in that state of ho-
nestie, and trained in that pathe of godlines (as I am able to
be a liuely witnesse, none hath been like, these many yeres,
or at the leaste, none better brought vp) what thinke you of
God, did he enuie them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto
them bothe, when he tooke theim bothe from vs. Assuredly,
who God loueth best, those he taketh soneste, according to the
saiyng of Salomon: The righteous man (meanyng Enoch
and other the chosen of God) is sodainly taken awaie, to the
intent that wickednes, should not alter his vnderstandyng,
and that hypocrisie should not begile his soule. For the craf-
tie bewitching of lies, make good thinges darke, the vnsted-
fastnes also, and wickednes of volupteous desire, turne aside
the

To die happely, is great happinesse.

Wised. iiii.

the vnderstandyng of the simple. And though the righteous was sone gone, yet fulfilled he moche time, for his soule pleased God, and therefore hated he, to take him awaie frō emōg the wicked. Yea, the good men of God, in all ages, haue euer had an earnest desire to be dissolued. My soule (q Dauid) hath an earnest desire, to enter into the courtes of the Lorde. Yea like as the Harte desireth the water brokes, so longeth my soule, after thee, O God. My soule is a thirste for God: yea, euen for the liuyng God, whē shall I come to appere, before the presence of God? Paule and the Apostles wished, and lōged for the date of the Lorde, and thought euery date a thousande yere, till their soules were parted from their bodies. Then, what should we waile them, whiche are in that place where we all should wishe to be, and seke so to liue, that we might be redy, whē it shall please God of his goodnes, to cal vs to his mercy. Let vs be sicke for our own sinnes, that liue here on yerth, and reioice in their moste happie passage, that are gone to heauē. Thei haue not left vs, but gone before vs to inherite with Christ, their kyngdom prepared. And what should this greue your grace, that thei are gone before, cōsidering our whole life is nothing els, but ỹ right waie to death. Should it trouble any one, that his frend is come to his iournies ende? Our life is nothing els, but a continuall trauail, and death obtaineth rest after all our labor. Emong mē that trauaill by the hye waie, he is beste at ease (in my mind) that soneste cometh to his iourneis ende. Therefore, if your grace loued your childrē (as I am wel assured you did) you must reioice in their rest, and giue God hartie thankes, that thei are come so sone to their iourneis ende. Nay, if it wer so ỹ man might escape the daūger of death, & liue euer, it wer an other matter: but bicause we must al die, either first or last, & of nothing so sure in this life, as we are all sure to die at length, & nothing more vncertain vnto man, then the certain time of euery mannes latter time: what forceth when we die, either this date, or to morowe, either this yere, or the nert, sauyng that I thinke theim moste happie, that die soneste, and death frendly to none so moche, as to thē, whom she taketh soneste. At the time of an execution doen, for greuous offences, what mattereth, who die first, when a dosen are condemned together, by a lawe, considerynge thei must all die, one and other.

Psal. lxxxiii.

Psalm. xlii.

Life, ỹ right waie to death.

Death purchaseth reste.

Death more frendly, the sener it commeth.

Thracians. I sate still; happie are they, that are soneſt ridde out of this worlde, and the soner gone, the soner blessed. The Thracians lamēt greatly at the birthe of their children, & reioyce much at the burial of their bodies, beinge well assured that this worlde is nothyng els but miserie, and the worlde to come, ioye for euer. Now again, the child now borne, partly declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his time with watlyng, and firſt sheweth teares, before he can iudge the cause of his woe. If we beleue the promises of God, if we hope for the generall resurrection, and constantly affirme, that God is iuſte in all his workes: we can not but ioyfully sate, with the iuſte man Iob: The Lorde gaue theim, the Lorde hath taken them again, as it pleaseth god, so maie it be, and blessed be the name of the lorde, for now and euer. God dealeth wrongfully with no manne, but extendeth his mercie moſte plentifully, ouer all mankind. God gaue you twoo children, as the like I haue not knowen, happie are you moſte gracious lady, that euer you bare them. God lent you them twoo for a tyme, and toke them twoo again at his tyme, you haue no wrong doen you, that he hath taken theim: but you haue receiued a wonderfull benefite, that euer you had theim. He is very vniuſte that borowēth, and will not pate again, but at his pleasure. He forgetteth moche his duetie, that borowēth a iewell of the kynges maieſtie, and will not reſtore it with good will, when it ſhall pleaſe his grace, to call for it. He is vnworthy hereafter to borow, that will rather grudge bicauſe he hath it no lōger, then ones giue thankes, bicauſe he hath had the vſe of it ſo longe. He is ouer coueteous, that coumpteth not gainfull, the tyme of his borowyng: but iudgeth it his loſſe, to reſtore thynges again. He is vnthankfull that thinkes he hath wrōg doen, when his pleaſure is ſhortned, and takes the ende of his delite, to be extreme euill. He loſeth the greateſt part of his ioye in this worlde, that thynketh there is no pleaſure, but of thinges preſent: that cannot comforte hymſelf, with pleaſure paſte, and iudge them to be moſte aſſured, conſideryng the memorie of theim ones had, can neuer decaie. His ioies be ouer ſtraight, that be comprehended within the compaſſe of his ſight, and thinketh nothyng comfortable, but that, whiche is euer before his iyes. All pleaſure, which man hath in this worlde, is very ſhort, & ſone

Children by weepyng, declare our woe.

Iob.

Lent goodes muſt be reſtored at the owner will.

sone goeth it awaie, the remembraunce lasteth euer, and is moche more assured, then is the presence, or liuely sight of any thyng. And thus your grace maie euer reioyce, that you had twoo sothe, whiche liued so vertously, and died so godly, and though their bodies be absēt from your sight, yet the remembraunce of their vertues, shall neuer decaie from your mynde. God lendeth life to all, and lēdeth at his pleasure for a tyme. To this man he grauntеth a long life, to this a shorte space, to some one, a daie, to some a yere, to some a moneth. Now, when God taketh, what man should be offended, considering, he that gaue frely, maie boldly take his owne, whē he will, and doe no man wrong. The kinges maiestie giueth one. x. l. an other. xl. li. an other. lx. li. shall he be greued, that receiued but. x. li. and not rather giue thankes, that he receiued so moche? Is that man happier, that dieth in the latter ende of the moneth, then he is ỹ died in the beginning of the same monethe? Doeth distaunce of tyme, and longe tarying from God, make men more happie, when thei come to God? By space of passage, we differ moche, and one liueth longer then an other, but by death at the laste, we all are matched, and none the happier, that liueth the lōger: but rather moste happie is he, that died the soneste, and departed beste in the faithe of Christe. Thinke therefore, your self moste happie, that you had twoo sothe, and giue God hartie thankes, that it pleased hym so sone, to take twoo sothe. Necessitie is lawfulle, and that whiche is by God appointed, no man can alter. Reioyce we, or wepe we, die we shall, how sone, no man cā tell. Yea, we ar all our life time warned before, that death is at hande, and that when we go to bedde, we are not assured to rise the nexte daie in the morning, no, not to liue one howre longer. And yet to se our folie, we would assign God his tyme, according to our facietie, and not cōtent our selfes with his doynges, according to his appointment. And euer we saie, when any die young, he might haue liued longer, it was pitie he died so sone. As though forsoth, he wer not better with God, then he can be with man. Therefore, whereas for a time your grace, moche bewailed their lacke, not onely absentyng your self from all companie, but also refusing all kinde of comfort, almoste dedde with heauinesse, your bodie beyng so wayne with sorowe, that the long continuaunce of

the same, is moche like to shorten your dates: I shall desire your grace for Gods loue, to referre your will, to Gods will and whereas hetherto nature hath taught you, to wepe the lacke of your naturall children, lette reason teache you hereafter, to wipe awaie the teares, & let not phantasie encrease that, which nature hath commaunded, moderatly to vse. To be sory for the lacke of our dearest, we are taught by nature, to be ouercome with sorowe, it cometh of our owne fonde opinion, and greate folie it is, with naturall sorowe, to encrease all sorowe, and with a little sickenesse, to purchase redie death. The sorowes of brute beastes are sharpe, and yet thei are but shorte. The Cowe lackyng her Caulfe, leaueth lowing, within three or fower dates, at the farthest. Birdes of the aire, perceiuyng their youngones, taken from their neast, chitter for a while in trees there aboute, and straight after thei flie abroade, and make no more a doe. The Doo lackyng her Faune, the Hinde her calfe, braie no long tyme after their losse, but seyng their lacke to be without remedy thei ceasse their sorowe within short space. Man onely emōg all other, ceaseth not to fauour his sorowe, and lameteth not onely so moche as nature willeth hym, but also so moche as his owne affection moueth him. And yet all folke doe not so, but suche as are subiecte to passions, and furthest from fortitude of minde, as women commonly, rather then men, rude people, rather then godlie folke: the vnlearned, soner then the learned, foolishe folke, soner then wise men, children, rather then yong men. Wherevpon we maie well gather, that immoderate sorowe, is not naturalle (for that whiche is naturall, is euer like in all) but through folie maintened, encreased by weakenesse, and for lacke of reason, made altogether intollerable. Then I doubte not, but your grace, will rather ende your sorowe, by reason: then that sorowe should ende you, through folie: and whereas by nature, you are a weake woman in bodie, you will shewe your self by reason, a stronge man in harte: rather endyng your grief, by godlie aduertisementes, and by the iust consideracion, of Gods wōderfull doopynges: then that tyme and space, should weare awaie your sorowes, whiche in deede suffer none, continually to abide in any one, but rather rid theim of life, or els ease thē of grief. The foole, the vngodlie, the weake harted haue

(The nature of brute beastes.

Immoderat sorowe not naturall.

this

this remedy, your medicen must be more heauenly, if you do (as you professe) referre all to gods pleasure, and sale in your praier. Thy wil be doen in yearth, as it is in heauen. Those whom God loueth, those be chasteneth, and happie is that body, whom God scourgeth, for his amendement. The man that dieth in the faithe of Christ is blessed, and the chastened seruaunt, if he doo repent and amend his life, shalbe blessed. We knowe not what we dooe, when we bewaile the death of our dearest, for in death is altogether all happines, & before death not one is happie. The miseries in this world declare, shall felicitee to be in the same. Therefore, many men beyng ouer whelmed with muche woe, & wretched wickednes, haue wished and prated to God, for an ende of this life, & thought this worlde to be a let, to the heauenly perfection, the whiche blisse all they shal attain hereafter that hope wel here, & with a liuely faith declare their assurãce. Your graces two sonnes, in their life wer so godly, that their death was their aduauntage: for, by death they liued, because in life they were dedde. They died in faith, not wearie of this worlde, nor wishing for death, as ouerloden with synne: but patiently taking the crosse departed with ioye. At whose dying, your grace mate learne an example of patience, and all thanks geuing, that God of his goodnes, hath so graciously taken these your two children, to his fauourable mercy. God punished, partly to trie your constancie, wherin I wish that your grace mate nowe be as well willing to forsake theim, as euer you were willing to haue them. But such is the infirmity of our flesh, that we hate good comfort in wordes, when that cause of our comforte in deed (as we take it) is gone. And me thinkes I heare you crie notwithstanding all my wordes, a lacke my children are gone. But what though they are gone: God hath called, and nature hath obeied. Yea, you crie still my children are dedde: Marie therefore they liued, and blessed is their ende, whose life was so Godly. Mo worthe, thei are dede, they are dede. It is no new thing, they are neither the first that died, nor yet the last that shall die. Many went before, and all shall folowe after. They liued together, they loued together, and nowe they made their ende bothe together. Alas they died, that were the fruit of myne awn body, leuyng me cõfortles, vnhappie woma that I am.

Tyme, a remedie for sorowes, to take away their sorowe. Math. 6. Jhon. 5.

The greate misery of this worlde, makes wearines of life.

Impacience without cõforte.

You

you doe well, to call theim the fruicte of your bodie, and yet you nothyng the more vnhappie neither. For is the tree vnhappie, from whiche the apples fall? Or is the yearth accursed, that bryngeth forthe grene grasse, whiche hereafter notwithstanding, doeth wither. Death taketh no order of yeres but when the tyme is appointed, be it rarely or late, daie or nighte, awaie we muste. But I praie you, what losse hath your grace? Thei died, that should haue died, yea, thei that could liue no longer. But you wished them longer life. Yea, but God made you no suche promise, and meete it were not, that he should be led by you, but you rather should be led by hym. Your children died, and that right godlie, what would you haue more? All good mothers desire, that their children maie die Gods seruauntes, the whiche your grace hath most affectedly obtained. Now againe, mannes nature altereth, and hardly tarieth vertue long in one place, without moche circumspection, and youth maie sone be corrupted. But you will saie. These were good, and godly brought vp, and therfore, moste like to proue godly hereafter, if thei had liued still. Well, though suche thynges perhaps had not chaunced, yet suche thinges might haue chaunced, and although thei happen not to all, yet doe thei hap to many: and though thei had not chaunced to your children, yet we knewe not that before and more wisedom it had been, to feare the worst with good aduisemente, then euer to hope, and looke still for the beste, without al mistrusting. For suche is the nature of man, and his corrupt race, that euermore the one soloweth soner, then the other. Commodus was a vertuous childe, and had good bringing vp, and yet he died a most wicked man. Nero wanted no good counsail, and suche a maister he had, as neuer any had the better, and yet what one aliue, was worse then he? But now death hath assured your grace, that you maie warrant your self, of their godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, thinges might haue chaunced otherwise. In wisshyng longer life, we wishe often tymes longer woe, longer trouble, longer folye in this worlde, & weye all thinges well, you shall perceiue we haue small ioye, to wisshe longer life. This imagination of longer life, when the life standeth not by nomber of yeres, but by the appointed wille of GOD, maketh our folie so moche to appere, and our teares so continually

Trees, not cursed, because Apples fall frō theim.

Commodus Nero.

tinually to fall from oure chekes. For if we thought (as we shoulde dooe in deede) that euery daye risynge, maye be the ende of euery man liuynge, and that there is no difference with God, betwixt one daie, & an hundreth yeres: we might beare al sorowes, a greate deale the better. Therfore it wer moste wisedome for vs all, and a greate poinct of perfection to make euery daie an euē rekening of our lyfe, and talke so with God euery houre, that we maye be of euen borde with hym, through fulnes of faithe, and redy to go the nexte houre folowyng, at his commaundement, and to take alwaies his sending in good part. The lord is at hande. We knowe not when he wil come (at mid night, at cocke crowe, or at noone dayes) to take either vs, or any of ours. Therfore, the rather that we maye be armed, let vs folow the examples of other godly men, & lay their doinges before your eyes. And emong al other, I knowe none so mete for your graces comfort, as the wise and Godly behauiour of good king Dauid. Who whē he was enfourmed, that his sonne was sicke, prayed to God hartely, for his amendemēt, wept, fasted, & with much lamentation declared greate heauinesse. But when woorde came of his sonnes departure, he left his mourning, he called for water, and willed meate to be set before hym, that he might eate. Wherupō, whē his men marualled, why he did so, consīdering he toke it so greuously before, when his child was but sicke, and now being dedde, toke no thought at all, he made this answere vnto theim: so long as my child liued, I fasted, and watered my plantes for my young boye, and I saied to my self, who can tell, but that God perhappes will giue me hym, and that my child shall liue, but now seyng he is dedde, to what ende should I faste? Can I call hym again any more? Naie, I shall rather goe vnto hym, he shall neuer come againe vnto me. And with that Dauid comforted his wife Bethsabe, the whiche example, as I truste your grace hath redde, for your comfort, so I hope you will also followe it for your healthe, and bee as stronge in patience, as euer Dauid was. The historie it self, shall moche delighte youre grace, beyng redde as it lieth in the Booke, better then my bare touchyng of it can dooe, a greate deale. The whiche I doubte not, but your grace will often reade, and comforte o-ther your self, as Dauid did his sorowfull wife. Job losyng

Dauid. 2. Reg. 12.

Job.

his childzen, and all that he had, forgate not to praise God in his extreme pouertie. Tobias lackyng his eye sight, in spirit
Tobias. praised God, and with open mouth, confessed his holy name, to bee magnified throughout the whole yearth. Paule the Apostle of God, reproueth theim as worthie blame, whiche mourne and lament, the losse of their dearestе. I would not
1. Thess. iiii. brethren (q he) that you should bee ignorannte, concernyng them, whiche be fallen on slepe, that you sorow not as other doe, whiche haue no hope. If we beleue that Jesus died, and rose again, euen so thei also, whiche slepe by Jesus, will God bryng againe with hym. Then your grace, either with leauyng sorowe, must shewe your self faithfull, or els with yeldyng to your woe, declare your self to be without hope. But I trust your grace, beyng planted in Christ, will shew with sufferaunce, the fruicte of your faithe, and comforte your self with the wordes of Christ, I am the resurrectiō and the life,
Jhon. xi. he that beleueth on me, yea, though he were ded, yet should he liue, and whosoeuer liueth, and beleueth in me, shal neuer die. We read of those, that had no knowlege of God, and yet thei bare in good worth, the disease of their childzen. Anara-
Anaxagoras. gorzas hearyng tell, that his soonne was dedde, no maruelle q he, I knowe well, I begotte a mortall body. Pericles chief
Pericles. ruler of Athens, hearyng tell that his twoo sonnes, being of wonderfull towardnesse, within fower daies were both ded, neuer greatly chaunged countenaunce for the matter, that any one could perceiue, nor yet forbare to go abrode, but according to his wonted custome, did his duetie in the counsail house, in debatyng matters of weight, concernyng the state of the common peoples weale. But bicause your grace is a
Cornelya. woman, I will shewe you an example of a noble woman, in whom appered wonderfull patience. Cornelia, a worthy ladie in Rome, beyng comforted for the losse of her twoo childzen, Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus, bothe valiant gentlemen, although bothe not the moste honest men, whiche died not in their beddes, but violently were slaine, in ciuill battaile, their bodies lyng naked, & vnburied, when one emongest other, said: Oh vnhappie woman, that euer thou shouldest see this daie. Naie q she, I will neuer thinke my self otherwise, then moste happie, that euer I brought forth these twoo Gracchions. If this noble Ladie, could thinke her self

happie,

happie, beyng mother to these twoo valiaunte gentlemen, and yet bothe rebelles, and therefore iustly slain: how moche more maie your grace, thinke your self moste happie, that euer you brought forthe twoo suche Brandons, not onely by naturall birthe, but also by moste godly education, in suche sort, that the like twoo haue not been, for their towardnesse vniuersally. Whose death, the generall voice of all men, declares how moche it was lamented. So that, whereas you might euer haue feared, some daungerous ende, you ar now assured, that thei bothe made a moste godly ende, the whiche thing, is ỹ full perfection of a christian life. I read of one Bibulus, that hearing of his twoo children, to die bothe in one daie, lamented the lacke of them both, for that one daie, and mourned no more. And what could a man doe lesse, then for twoo children, to lament but one daie, and yet in my minde, he lamented enough, and euen so moche, as was reason for hym to doe, whose doynges, if all christians would followe, in my iudgement, thei should not onely fulfill natures rule, but also please God highly. Horatius Pulullus, being high Priestе at Rome, when he was occupied, aboute the dedicatyng of the Temple, to the greate God Iupiter, in the Capitoly, holdyng a poste in his hande, and hard as he was vttering the solempne woordes, that his soonne was dedde, euen at thesame present: he did neither plucke his hand from the poste, least he should trouble suche a solempnitie, neither yet tourne his countenaunce, from that publique religion, to his priuate sorowe, least he should seme rather, to doe the office of a father, then the duetie of an high minister. Paulus Emilius, after his moste noble victorie, had of king Perse, desired of God, that if after suche a triumphe, there were any harme like to happen to the Romaines, thesame might fall vpon his owne house. Whereupon, when God had taken his twoo children from hym, immediatly after he thanked God, for grauntyng hym his bounde. For in so dooyng, he was a meane that the people, rather lamented Paulus Emilius lacke, then that Paulus or any, bewailed any misfortune, that the Romaines had. Examples be innumerable of those, which vsed like moderation, in subduing their affections, as Zenephon, Quintus Martius, Iulius Cesar, Tiberius Cesar, Emperours both of Rome. But what seke I for

Bibulus.

Horatius Pulullus.

Paulus Emilius.

Quintus Martius. Iulius Cesar. Tyberius Cesar.

misfortunate men (if any suche bee misfortunate) seyng it is an harder matter, and a greater peece of woorke, to finde out happie men. Let vs looke rounde aboute, euen at home, and we shall finde enough subiect to this misfortune, for who liueth, that hath not losse? Therefore, I would wishe your grace euen now, to come in againe with God, and although he bee angrie, yet shewe you your self moste obedient to his will, consideryng he is lorde ouer kynges, Emperours, and ouer all that be, bothe in heauen and in yearth, and spareth none, whom he listeth to take, and no doubt, he will take all at the laste. His darte goeth daily, neither is any darte cast in vaine, whiche is sent emong an whole armie, stãding thicke together. Neither can you iustly lamente, that thei liued no longer, for thei liued longe enough, that haue liued well enough. You muste measure your children, by their vertues, not by their yeres. For (as the wiseman saieth) a mannes wisedome is the grey heeres, and an vndefiled life, is the old age. Happie is that mother, that hath had godlie children, and not she that hath had, long liuyng children. For, if felicitie should stande by length of tyme, some Tree were more happie, then is any man, for it liueth longer: and so likewise brute beastes, as the Stagge, who liueth (as Plinius dooeth saie) twoo hundred yeres, and more. If we would but consider, what man is, we should haue small hope to liue, and little cause to put, any greate assuraunce in this life. Let vs see hym, what he is? Is his bodie any thyng els, but a lumpe of yearth, made together in suche forme, as we doe see? A fraile vessell, a weake cartõ, subiect to miserie, cast doune with euery light disease, a mã to daie, to morowe none. A flower that this daie is freshe, to morowe withereth. Good lorde, doe we not se, that euen those thinges, whiche nourishe vs, do rotte and die, as herbes, birdes, beastes, water, and al other without the whiche we can not liue. And how can we liue euer, ỹ are sustained by ded thinges? Therfore, when any one dooeth die, why doe we not thinke, that this maie chaunce to euery one, whiche now hath chaunced to any one. We be now as those, that stand in battaile raie. Not one man is sure of him self, before an other, but all are in daunger, in like maner to death. That your children died before other, that were of riper yeres, we maie iudge, that their ripenesse for vertue, and

Sapi. 4.

Trees liue longer then menne.

The Stagge how longe he liueth.

Man, what he is, concernyng his body

all

all other giftes of nature were brought euen to perfection, wherby death the sonner approched, for nothing long lasteth that is sone excellent, God gaue your grace two most excellent childre, God neuer geueth for any long time those that be right excellent. Their natures were heauenly, and therfore more mete for God then man. Among frute we se some appels are sone ripe, and fall from the tree in the middest of summer: other be stil grene, & tary til winter, & hereupō are cōmonly called winter frute: Euen so it is with man, some dye young, some die old, & some die in their midle age. Your sonnes wer euen. vj. such al ready as some hereafter may be with long cōtinuance of time. Thei had that in their youth for the giftes of nature, whiche al men would require of thē bothe scarcelie in their age. Therfore beeing both now ripe they were now moste readie for God. There was a childe in Rome of a mans quantitie, for face, legges & other partes of his body, wherupon wisemen iudged he would not be long liuing. How could your grace thinke, that when you sawe ancient wisedom in the one, & most pregnant wit in the other meruailouse sobriete in the elder, & most laudable gentlines in the younger, them bothe most studious in learning, most forward in al feates aswel of the body, as of the mind, being two suche, & so excellent, that thei were lyke longe to continue with you: God neuer suffreth such excellēt and rare iewels long to enherite therth. Whatsoeuer is nie perfectiō the same is most nigh falling. Vertue being ons absolute cā not long be seen with these our fleshly yes, neither can that tary the latter end with other, that was ripe it self first of al & before other. Fier goth out the soner, the clearer that it burneth: & that light lasteth longest, that is made of most course matter. In greene wood we may see that where as the fuel is not most apt for burning, yet the fier lasteth lōger, than if it were nourished with like quantitie of drie wood. Euen so in the nature of man the minde beeing ripe, the body decayeth streight, and life goeth awaye beyng ones brought to perfection. Neither can there be any greater token of short lyfe, than full ripenes of naturall witte: The whiche is to the bodie, as the heate of the Sunne is to thinges yearthly. Therefore iudge right honourable ladie, that euē now they bothe died, when thei both wer most redie for God, neither

Ripe thinges last not long.

thinke that thei died ouer sone, bicause thei liued no longer. Thei died bothe gods seruauntes, and therfore thei died wel and in good tyme. God hath set their tyme, and taken theim at his time, blessed children as thei be, to reigne with hym in the kyngdome of his father, prepared for theim from the beginnyng. Unto whose will, I wishe, and I trust your grace doeth wholy referre your will, thanking hym as hartely, for that he hath taken theim, as you euer thanked hym, for that he euer lent you theim. I knowe the wicked wordes of some vngodly folke, haue moche disquieted your grace, notwithstandyng, God beyng iudge of your naturall loue, towardes your children, and all your faithfull frendes, and seruauntes bearyng earnest witnesse with your grace of thesame: their vngodly talke, the more lightly is to bee estemed, the more vngodly that it is. Maie your grace maie reioice rather, that whereas you haue dooen well, you heare euill, according to the wordes of Christe: blessed are you, when men speake all euill thinges against you. And again cõsider, God is not led by the report men, to iudge his creatures, but perswaded by the true knowlege of euery mannes conscience, to take theim, for his seruauntes, and furthermore the harme is theirs, whiche speake so leudely, and the blesse theirs, whiche beare it so patiently. For loke what measure thei vse to other, with thesame thei shalbee measured againe. And as thei iudge, so shal thei be iudged. Be your grace therfore strong in aduersitie, and praie for them that speake amisse of you, rendering good for euill, and with charitable dealyng, shewe your self long suffryng, so shall you hepe coales on their heddes. The boisterous sea, trieth the good Mariner, and sharpe veracion declareth the true christian. Where battaile hath not been before, there neuer was any victorie obteined. You then, beyng thus assailed, shewe your self rather stoute to withstand then weake to giue ouer: rather cleauyng to good, then yeldyng to euill. For if God be with you, what forceth who bee against you. For when all frendes faile, God neuer faileth them, that put their trust in him, and with an vnfained hart call to him for grace. Thus doyng, I assure your grace, God will be pleased, and the godly will moche praise your wisedõ though the worlde full wickedly fare their pleasure. I praie God your grace maie please the godlie, and with your ver-

Math. 5.

Pacience praiseworthy in aduersitie.

tuous

tuous behauiour in this your widowhod, winne their commendacion, to the glory of God, the reioysyng of your frendes, and the comfort of your soule. Amen.

Thus, the rather to make preceptes plaine, I haue added examples at large, bothe for counsaill giuyng, and for comfortyng. And moste nedefull it wer, in soche kinde of oracions to be moste occupied, considering the vse hereof appereth ful oft, in all partes of our life, and confusedly is vsed, emong al other matters. For in praising a worthy man, we shall haue iuste cause to speake of all his vertues, of thynges profitable in this life, and of pleasures in generall. Likewise in trauersing a cause before a Iudge, we can not want the aide of perswasion, and good counsaile, concernyng wealthe, healthe, life, and estimacion, the helpe whereof, is partly borowed of this place. But whereas I haue set foorthe at large, the places of confirmacion, concernyng counsaile in diuers causes: it is not thought, that either thei should all be vsed, in nober as thei are, or in order as thei stande: but that any one maie vse them, and order them as he shall thinke beste, accordyng as the tyme, place, and persone, shall moste of all require.

¶ Of an oracion iudiciall.

The whole burdein of weightie matters, and the earnest triall of all controuersies, rest onely vpon iudgement. Therefore, when matters concernyng lande, gooddes, or life, or any soche thyng of like weight, are called in question, we must euer haue recourse to this kinde of oracion, and after iuste examinyng of our causes, by the places thereof: loke for iudgement, accordyng to the lawe.

¶ Oracion iudiciall what it is.

Oracion Iudiciall is, an earnest debatyng in open assemblie, of some weightie matter before a iudge where the complainaunt commenseth his accion, and the defendaunt thereppon aunswereth at his perill, to all soche thynges, as are laied to his charge.

¶ Of the foundacion, or rather principall pounce in euery debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the State, or constitucion of the cause.

Not onely is it nedefull, in causes of iudgement, to consider the scope, whereunto we must leaueil our reasons, & direct our inuencion: but also we ought in euery cause to haue a respect, vnto some espe-

ciall

ciall poincte, and chief article: that the rather the whole drift of our doinges maye seeme to agree with our firste deuised purpose. For, by this meanes our iudgement shalbe framed to speake with discretion, and the ignoraunt shall learne to perceiue with profite, what soeuer is saied for his enstructiō. But thei that take vpon them to talke in open audiēce, and make not their accompte before, what thei wil speake after: shal neither be well liked for their inuenciō, nor allowed for their witte, nor estemed for their learning. For, what other thinge do they, that boult out their wordes in suche sorte, & without all aduisement vtter out matter: but showe themselues to plaie as young boyes, or scarre crowes do, whiche showte in the open and plaine feldes at all auentures hittie missie. The learned therfore and suche as loue to be coumpted Clerkes of vnderstanding, and men of good circumspection and iudgement, doe warely scanne what they chefely mynd to speake, and by definition seke what that is whereunto they purpose to directe their whole doynges. For, by suche aduised warenesse, and good iye castyng: they shall alwayes be able both to knowe what to say, & to speake what they ought. As for example, if I shal haue occasion to speake in open audience of the obediēce due to our souereigne king I ought first to learne what is obedience, and after knowelege attained, to direct my reasons to the onely profe of this purpose, and wholy to seke confirmacion of the same, & not turne my tale to talke of Robbyn Hoode, & to showe what a goodly archer was he, or to speake wounders of the man in the Mone, suche as are most nedelesse & farthest from the purpose. For then, the hearer lookyng to be taught his obedience, & hearing in the meane season mad tales of archerie and great meruailes of the man in the Mone: being half astoined at his so great straing wil perhappes say to him self: Now, whether the deuill wilt thou, come in man again for very shame, & tel me no bytailes, suche as are to no purpose but show me that, whiche thou diddeste promise both to teache & perswade at thy first entrie. Assuredlye suche fonde felowes there haue been, yea euen emong Prachers, that talking of faith, thei haue fetcht their full race from the. xij. signes in the Zodiake. An other talking of the general resurrectiō hath made a large matter of our blessed lady, praising

Definicion of a thing muste firste be knowen, ere wee speake our mind at large

Rouing without reason.

her

ber to be so gentle, so curteous, and so kind, that it wer better a thousãde fold, to make sute to her alone, then to Christ her sonne. And what neded (I praie you) any soche rehersall beyng bothe vngodlie, and nothing at all to the purpose, For, what maketh the praise of our Ladie, to the confirmacion of the generalle doume? Would not a man thinke hem madde, that hauyng an earneste errande from London to Douer, would take it the nerte waie to ride first into Northfolke, nerte into Essex, and last into Kent? And yet assuredly, many an vnlearned and witlesse man, hath straied in his talke moche farther a greate deale, yea truely as farre, as hens to Rome gates. Therefore wise are thei, that followe Plinies aduise, who would that all men, bothe in writyng and speakyng at large vpõ any matter, should euer haue an eye to the chief title, and principall grounde of their whole entẽt, neuer swaruyng from their purpose, but rather bringyng all thynges together, to confirme their cause so moche as thei can possible. Yea, the wise and expert men will aske of theim selues, how hangeth this to the purpose? To what ende doe ye speake it? What maketh this for confirmacion of my cause? And so by ofte questionyng, either chide their owne folie, if thei speake amisse: or els be assured, thei speak to good purpose.

Plinies counsaile for handeling of causes.

A State therfore generally, is the chief ground of a matter, and the principall poinct, whereunto bothe he that speaketh, should referre his whole witte, and they that heare should chiefly marke. A Preacher taketh in hande, to shewe what praier is, and how nedefull for man, to call vpõ God: Now, he should euer remember this his matter, applyng his reasons wholly and fully to this ende, that the hearers maie bothe knowe the nature of praier, and the nedefulnes of praier. The which when he hath doen, his promise is fulfilled, his time well bestowed, & the hearers well instructed.

A State generally, what it is.

A state, or constitucion, what it is in matters of iudgement.

IN all other causes the State is gathered, without contencion, and seuerally handled vpõ good aduisemente, as he shall thinke beste, that professeth to speake. But in matters criminall, where iudgemẽt is required: there are twoo persones at the leaste, which muste through contrarietie, stande and reste vpon some issue. As

for example. A seruyng man, is apprehended by a Lawier, for Felonie vpon suspicion. The Lawier saieth to the seruyng manne: thou haste doen this roberie. Nay (saieth he) I haue not doen it. Vpon this conflict and matchyng together, ariseth this State, whether this seruyng manne, hath doen this robberie, or no? Vpon whiche poincte, the Lawier muste stande, and seke to proue it, to the vttermoste of his power.

State in ind gemēt, what it is.

A State thereof, in matters of iudgement, is that thyng, whiche doeth arise, vpō the first demaunde, and denial made betwirt men, whereof the one part is the accuser, and the other part the persone, or persones accused. It is called a State bicause we dooe stande and reste vpon some one poincte, the whiche muste wholly and onely be proued of the one side, and denied of thother. I can not better terme it in Englishe, then by the name of an issue, the whiche not onely ariseth vpon moche debating, and long trauers vsed, whereupon al matters are saied, to come to an issue: but also els where, an issue is saied to be then, and so often as bothe partes stande vpon one poincte, the whiche doeth aswell happen at the first begin nyng, before any probacions are vsed, as it doth at the latter ending, after the matter hath at large been discussed.

State, why it is so called.

The deuision of States, or issues.

NOw that we knowe what an issue is, it is next moste needefull, to shewe how many thei are in nomber. The wisest and best learned, haue agreed vpon three onely, and no lesse, the whiche are these folowyng.

The state.
j. Coniecturall.
ij. Legall.
iij. Iuridicall.

AND for the more plain vnderstanding, of these darcke woordes, these three questions folowyng, expounde their meanyng altogether.

j. Whether the thyng be, or no.
ij. What it is.
iij. What maner of thyng it is.

IN the first, we consider vpon rehersall of a matter, whether any suche thing be, or no. As if one should bee accused of murder, good it were to knowe, whether any murder wer committed at all, or no,

if

if it be not perfectly knowen before: and after to go further, and examine whether soche a man that is accused, haue doen the deede or no.

In the seconde place, we doubt not vpon the thyng doen, but we stande in doubte what to call it. Sometymes a man is accused of Felonie, and yet he proueth his offence, to bee but a trespace, wherupon he escapeth the daunger of death. An other beyng accused for killyng a manne, confesseth his faulte to be manslaughter, and denieth it vtterly, to bee any murder, wherupon he maketh frendes, to purchase his pardon. Now the Lawiers by their learnyng, muste iudge the doubte of this debate, and tell what name he deserueth to haue, that hath thus offended.

In the third place, not onely the deede is confessed, but the maner of doyng is defended. As if one were accused, for killyng a man, to confesse the deede, and also to stand in it, that he might iustly so doe, bicause he did it in his owne defence: wherupon ariseth this question, whether his doyng be right or wrong. And to make these matters more plain, I will ad an example for euery state, seuerally.

¶ Of the state Coniecturall.

The Assercion.

Thou hast killed this man.

The Aunswere.

I haue not killed hym.

The State or Issue.

Whether he hath killed this man or no. Thus we see vpon the auouchyng and deniall, the matter standeth vppon an issue.

¶ Of the state Legall.

The Assercion.

Thou hast committed treason in this fact.

The Aunswere.

I denie it to be treason.

The State or Issue.

Whether his offence doen, maie be called treason, or no. Here is denied, that any soche thing, is in the deede doen, as is by worde reported, and saied to be.

¶ Of the state Iuridicial.

The Assercion.

Thou

Thou hast killed this man.

Aunswere.

I graunt it, but I haue doen it lawfully, bicause I killed hym, in myne owne defence.

State or issue.

Whether a man maie kill one in his owne defence, or no and whether this man did so, or no.

¶ The Oracion conjecturall, what it is.

THe Oracion conjecturall is, when matters be examined, and tried out by suspicions gathered, and some likelihode of thyng apperyng. A soldiour is accused, for killyng a Farmer. The soldiour denieth it utterly, and saieth he did not kill hym. Herebpon riseth the question, whether the soldiour killed the Farmer or no, who is well knowen to be slaine. Now to proue this question, we must haue soche places of confirmacion, as hereafter doe followe.

¶ Places of confirmacion, to proue thynges by conjecture.

§ i. Will, to doe euill.
§ ij. Power, to doe euill.

i. IN the will must be considered, the qualitie of the mã, whether he were like to doe soche a deede or no, and what should moue hym, to attempte soche an enterprise, whether he did the murther, upon any displeasure, before conceiued, or of a sodain anger, or els for that she looked by his death, to receiue some commoditie, either lande, or office, money, or money worthe, or any other gainfull thyng.

ij. Some are knowen, to want no will, to kille a manne, bicause thei haue been sicke heretofore, passyng as little upon the death of a man, as a Bocher dooeth passe, for killyng of an Ore, beyng heretofore, either accused before a Judge, of manslaughter, or els quit by some generall pardone. Now, when the names of soche men are knowen, thei make wisemen euer after, to haue them in suspeccion.

iij. The countrie where the man was borne, declares sometime his naturall inclinacion, as if he wer borne or brought up emong the Tindale, and Riddesdale men, he maie the soner be suspected.

iiij. Of what trade he is, by what occupacion he liueth.

v. Whether he be a gamester, an alehouse haunter, or a pa-

nion

nion emong Ruffians.

Of what wealthe he is, and how he came by that, whiche he hath, if he haue any. vj.

What apparell he weareth, and whether he loueth to go gaie, or no. vij.

Of what nature he is, whether he be hastie, heddie, or redie to pike quarels. viij.

What shiftes he hath made, from tyme to tyme. ix.

What moueth hym, to doe soche an hainous deede. x.

¶ Places of confirmacion to proue, whether he had power to doe soche a deede, or no.

The grounde where the man was slaine, whether is was in the high waie, in a wodde, or betwixte twoo hilles, or els where, nigh to an hedge, or secrete place. j.

The tyme, whether it was earely in the morning, or late at night. ij.

Whether he was there, about that tyme, or no. iij.

Whether he ran awaie, after the deede donen, or had any blood aboute hym, or trembled, or stakerde, or was contrary in tellyng of his tale, and how he kept his countenaunce. iiij.

Hope to kepe his deede secrete, by reason of the place, time and secrete maner of doyng. v.

Witnesses examined of his being, either in this or ỳ place vj.

By comparing of the strength of the murtherer, with the other mannes weakenesse, armoure with nakednesse, and stoutnesse with simplicitie. vij.

His confession. viij.

¶ An example of an oracion iudiciall, to proue by coniectures, the knowlege of a notable and most hainous offence, committed by a soldiour.

AS nature hath euer abhorred murder, and God in al ages, moste terribly hath plagued bloodsheding so I trust your wisedomes (moste worthy iudges) will spedely seke the execution, of this moste hatefull synne. And where as God reueleth, to the sight of men, the knowlege of soche offeces, by diuers likelihodes, and probable coniectures: I doubt not, but you being called of God, to heare soche causes, will doe herein, as reason shall require and as this detestable offence shall moue you, upon rehersall of the matter. The man that is well knowen to be slain, was a worthy farmer, a good hous keper, a welthy husbandman,

one

one that trauailed moche in this worlde, meanyng vprightly in all his doynges, and therefore beloued emong all men, and lamented of many, when his death was knowen. This soldiour being desperate in his doinges, and liuyng by spoile all his life tyme, came newly from the warres, whose handes hath been lately bathed in bloodde, and nowe he kepeth this countrey (where this Farmer was slain) and hath been here for the space of one whole monethe together, and by all likelihodes, he hath slain this honest farmer. For, suche men sleyght vilaines, make small accompt for killyng any one, and doe it thei will, without any mercie, when thei maie se their time. Yea, this wretche is bruted for his beastly demeanour, and knowen of long tyme, to be a strong thiefe. Neither had he escaped the daunger of the Lawe, if the kynges free pardon, had not preuented the execution. His name declares his noughtie nature, and his wicked liuyng, hath made hym famous. For, who is he that hearyng of N. (the notable offenders name, might here be rehearsed) doeth not thinke by and by, that he were like to doe suche a deede? Neither is he onely knowen vniuersally to bee nought, but his soile also (where he was borne) giueth hym to bee an euill man: considering he was bred and brought vp, emong a den of theues, emong the men of Tindale and Riddesdale, where pillage is good purchase, and murderyng is compted manhode. Occupation hath he none, nor yet any other honeste meanes, whereby to maintain hymself: and yet he liueth moste sumpteously. No greater gamester in a whole Countrey, no suche riotour, a notable whoremonger, a leude roister emong Ruffians, an vnreasonable waster, to daie full of money, within a seuennight after, not worthe a grote. There is no man that seeth hym, but will take hym for his apparell, to be a gentleman. He hath his chaunge of sutes, yea, he spareth not to go in his silkes and veluet. A greate quareller, and fraie maker, glad when he maie bee at defiaunce, with one or other, he hath made suche shiftes for money ere now, that I marualle how he hath liued till this daie. And now beyng at a lowe ebbe, and loth to seme base in his estate, thought to aduenture vpon this Farmer, and either to win the saddle, or els to lose the boys. And thus being so farre forward, wantyng no will to attempt this wicked deede, he sought by all meanes possible,

ble, conuenient opportunitie, to compasse his desire. And wayting vnder a wodde side, nigh vnto the high waie, about six of the clocke at night, he set vpon this Farmer, at what time he was commyng homeward. For, it appereth not onely, by his owne confession, that he was there aboute the self same tyme, where this man was slain: but also there be men, that sawe hym ride in greate haste, about the self same time. And bicause God would haue this murder to be knowen, looke I praie you, what blood he carieth aboute hym, to beare witnesse against hym, of his moste wicked deede. Againe, his owne confession, doeth plainly go against hym, for he is in so many tales, that he can not tel what to saie. And often his colour chaungeth, his bodie shaketh, and his tongue foulereth within his mouthe. And soche men as he bringeth in, to beare witnesse with him, that he was at soche a place, at the self same howre, when the Farmer was slaine: thei will not be sworne for the verie howre, but thei saie, he was at soche a place, within twoo howres after. Now lord, doeth not this matter, seme moste plain vnto all men, especially, seing this deede was doen soche a tyme, and in soche a place, that if the Deuill had not been his good Lorde, this matter had neuer come to light. And who will not saie, that this caitife had litle cause to feare, but rather power inough, to dooe his wicked feate, seyng he is so sturdie, and so strong, and the other so weake, and vnweldie: yea, seing this vilaine was armed, and the other man naked. Doubt you not (worthie Iudges) seyng soche notes of his former life, to declare his inwarde nature, and perceiuyng soche coniectures, lawfully gathered vpon iuste suspicion: but that this wretched Soldioure, hath slaine this worthie Farmer. And therefore, I appeale for Iustice, vnto your wisedomes, for the death of this innocente manne, whose blood before God, asketh iuste auengement. I doubt not, but you remember the woordes of Salomon, who saieth. It is as greate a sinne, to forgiue the wicked, as it is euill to condempne the innocente: and as I call vnfainedly for right full iudgement, so I hope assuredly, for iuste execution. The persone accused, beyng innocent of the crime, that is laied to his charge, maie vse the self same places, for his owne defence, the whiche his accuser vsed, to proue hym guilte.

The

¶ The interpretacion of a lawe, otherwise called a state legal.

In boultyng out the true meanyng of a Lawe, wee must vse to searche out the nature of the same, by defynyng some one woorde, or comparyng one Lawe with an other, iudgyng vpon good triall, what is right, and what is wrong.

The partes.

- j. Definicion.
- ij. Contrary lawes.
- iij. Lawes made, and thende of the lawe maker
- iiij. Ambiguitie, or doubtfulnesse.
- v. Probacion by thynges like.
- vj. Chalengyng or refusyng.

¶ Definicion, what it is,

When we vse to define a matter, when we can not agree, vpon the nature of some woorde, the whiche we learne to knowe, by askyng the question, what it is. As for example. Where one is apprehended for killyng a man, we laie murther to his charge: whereupō the accused persone, when he graunteth the killyng, and yet denieth it to bee murther: we muste straight after, haue recourse to the definicio, and aske, what is murder, by defining whereof, and comparyng the nature of the woorde, with his deede doen: we shall sone knowe, whether he cōmitted murder, or manslaughter.

¶ Contrarie lawes.

It often happeneth, that lawes seme to haue a certaine repugnauncie, whereof, emong many riseth moche contencion, wheras, if bothe the lawes wer well weighed and cōsidered, according to their circumstances, thei would appere nothing contrary in matter, though in woordes thei seme to dissent. Christe giueth warnyng, and chargeth his disciples, in the tenth of Matthewe, that thei preache not the glad tidynges, of his commyng into the worlde, to the Gentiles, but to the Iewes onely, vnto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his resurrection, we doe read in the last of Matthewe, that he commaunded his disciples, to go into all the whole worlde, and preach the glad tidynges of his passion, and raunsome, paied for all crea-

creatures liuyng. Now, though these twoo lawes seme contrary, yet it is nothyng so. For, if the Iewes would haue receiued Christ, and acknowleged him their sauiour, vndoubtedly, thei had been the onely children of God, vnto whom, the promise and couenaunt was made from the beginnyng. But bicause thei refused their sauiour, and crucified the lord of glory: Christe made the lawe generall, and called all men to life, that would repent, promisyng saluacion to all soche, as beleued and were Baptised. So that the particuler lawe being now abrogated, must nedes giue place to the superior

¶ Fower lessons to be obserued, where contrary Lawes are called in question.

¶ j. The inferior lawe, must giue place to ỹ superior
¶ ij. The lawe generall, must yelde to the speciall.
¶ iij. Mannes lawe, to Gods lawe.
¶ iiij. An old lawe, to a newe lawe.

THere be lawes vtterde, by Christes owne mouth, the whiche if thei bee taken, according as thei are spoken, seme to contain greate absurditie in them. And therefore, the minde of the lawe maker, must rather bee obserued, then the bare woordes taken onely, as thei are spoken. Christe saieth in the fiueth of Matthewe. If thy right ye be an offence to thee, plucke hym out, and caste hym awaie from thee. If one giue thee a blowe of thy right cheke, tourne to hym again thy lefte cheke. There bee some Enuches, that haue gelded them selues, from the kingdome of heauen. Go, and sell all that thou haste, and giue it to the poore. He that doeth not take vp his crosse, and followe me, is not worthie of me. In all whiche sentences, there is no soche meanyng, as the bare woordes vttered, seme to yelde. Plucking out of the ye, declares an auoiding of all euell occasions: receiuyng a blowe vpon the left cheke, commendes vnto vs, modestie, and pacience in aduersitie. Geldyng, signifieth a subduyng of our affeccions, and taming the foule lust of pleasure, vnto the will of reason. Go and sell all: declares we should be liberall, and glad to parte with our goodes, to the poore and neadie. Bearyng the crosse, betokeneth sufferaunce of all sorowes, and miseries in this worlde. Now, to proue that the will of the lawe maker, is none other then I haue saied: I maie vse the testimonies of other places in the Math.5. Math.19. Math.16.

scripture, and compare them with these Sentences, and so iudge, by iuste examinacion, and diligente searche, the true meanyng of the lawe maker.

¶Ambiguitie.

SOmetymes a doubte is made, vpon some woorde or sentence, when it signifieth diuers thynges, or maie diuersly be taken, whereupon full ofte ariseth moche contencion. The Lawiers lacke no cases, to fill this parte full of examples. For, rather then faile, they will make doubtes oftentymes, where no doubte should bee at all. Is his Lease longe inough (q one): yea sir, it is very longe, saied a poore housebande man. Then (q he) let me alone with it, I will finde a hole in it, I warraunte thee. In all this talke, I excepte alwaies the good Lawiers, and I maie well spare them, for they are but a fewe.

Lawiers.

¶Probacion by thynges like.

WHen there is no certain Lawe, by expresse woordes, vttered for some hainous offender: wee maie Iudge the offence worthie death, by rehersall of some other Lawe, that foundeth moche that waie. As thus. The Ciuill Lawe appointeth, that he shall be put in a Sacke, and caste in the Sea, that killeth his father: well, then he that killeth his mother, should by all reason, in like sort be ordered. It is lawfull to haue a Magistrate, therfore, it is lawfull to plead matters before an officer. And thus, though the last can not be proued, by expresse woordes, yet the same is founde lawfull by rehearsall of the firste.

¶Chalengyng, or refusyng.

WE vse this order, when we remoue our sutes, from our Courte to an other, as if a manne should appele from the Common place, to the Chauncerie. Or if one should be called by a wrong name, not to aunswere vnto it. Or if one should refuse to aunswere, in the Spirituall Courte, and appele to the Lorde Chauncellour.

¶The Oracion of right or wrong, called otherwise the state Iuridiciall.

AFter a deede is well knowen to be doen, by some one persone, we go the nexte, and searche whether it bee right or wrong. And that is, when the maner of doyng is examined, and the matter tried through reasonyng, & moche debatyng, whether it be wrongfully doen, or otherwise

¶The

¶The Diuision.

This state of right or wrong, is twoo waies diuided, whereof the one is, when the matter by the own nature, is defended to be right, without any further seking, called of the Rhetoricians, the state absolute.

The other (vsyng little force or strength, to maintain the matter) is, when outward help is sought, and bywaies vsed to purchase fauour, called otherwise the state assumptiue.

¶Places of confirmacion for the first kinde, are. vii.

- j. Nature it self.
- ij. Gods Lawe, and mannes Lawe.
- iij. Custome.
- iiij. Aequitie.
- v. True dealyng.
- vj. Auncient examples.
- vij. Couenauntes and deedes autentique.

Tullie in his moste worthie Oracion, made in behalfe of Milo, declareth that Milo slue Clodius moste lawfully, whom Clodius sought to haue slain moste wickedly. For (q Tullie) if nature haue grafted this in manne, if Lawe haue confirmed it, if necessitie haue taught it, if custome haue kept it, if aequitie haue mainteined it, if true dealyng hath allowed it, if all common weales haue vsed it, if deedes auncient haue sealed this vp, that euery creature liuyng should sense it self, against outward violence: no man can thinke that Milo hath doen wrong, in killing of Clodius, excepte you thinke, that when men mete with theues, either thei must be slain of them, or els condempned of you.

¶Places of confirmacion for the seconde kinde, are. iiii.

- Grauntyng of the fault committed.
- Blamyng euill companie for it.
- Comparyng the fault, & declaring that either thei must haue doen that, or els haue doen worse.
- Shiftyng it from vs, and shewyng that we did it vpon commaundement.

Confessyng, what it is.

Confessyng of the faulte, is when the accused persone, graunteth his crime, and craueth pardon therupon, leauyng to aske Justice, and leanyng wholly vnto mercie.

Confession of the faulte, vsed two maner of waies.

The diuision

The first is, when one accuseth hymself, that he did it not willingly, but vnwares, and by chaunce. The seconde is, when he asketh pardon, for the fault doen, considerynge his seruice to the common weale, and his worthie deedes heretofore dooen, promisynge amendement of his former euill deede: the whiche woordes, would not be vsed before a Iudge, but before a kyng, or generall of an armie. For the Iudges muste giue sentence, accordyng to the Lawe: the kyng maie forgiue, as authour of the Lawe, and hauyng power in his hande, maie dooe as he shall thinke beste.

Blamyng other, how it is saied.

Blamyng other for the faulte doen, is when we saie, that the accused persone, would neuer haue doen soche a deede, if other againste whom also, this accusation is intended, had not been euill menne, and giuen iuste cause, of soche a wicked deede.

Comparyng the faulte.

Comparyng the fault, is when we saie, that by slayng an euill manne, we haue doen a good deede, cuttyng awaie the corrupte and rotten member, for preseruacion of the whole bodie. Or thus: some set a whole toune on fire, bicause their enemies should haue none aduauntage by it.

Sagauntines

The Sagauntines, being tributary to the Romaines, slue their own children, burnt their goodes, and fired their bodies, bicause thei would not bee subiecte to that cruell Hanibal, and lose their allegiaunce, due to the Romaines.

Shifting the fault from vs

Shiftyng it from vs, is whē we saie, that if other had not set vs on, we would neuer haue attempted, soche an enterprise. As often tymes the soldiour saieth, his Capitaines biddyng, was his enforcement: the seruaunte thinketh his maisters commaundement, to be a sufficiēt defence for his discharge.

¶ The

The seconde Booke.

NOw that I haue hetherto set forthe, what Rhetorique is, whereunto euery Oratour is moste bounde, what the causes bee, bothe in their nature, and also by nomber, that comprehende euery matter, and what places serue to confirme euery cause: I thinke it is moste mete, after the knowledge of all these, to frame an Oracion accordinglie, and to shewe at large, by partes of euery Oracion (but specially soche as are vsed in Iudgemente) that vnto euery cause, apte partes maie euermore bee added. For euery matter hath a diuers beginning, neither all controuerlies, or matters of weight, should alwaies after one sorte be rehearsed, nor like reasons vsed, nor one kinde of mouing affections, occupied before al men, and in euery matter. And therefore, whereas I haue briefly spoken of them before, I will now largely declare thē and shewe the vse of theim in euery matter, that cometh in debate, and is nedefull, through reason to be discussed.

An enterraunce, twoo wayes diuided.

THE firste is called a plain beginning, when the hearer is made apte, to giue good care out of hande, to that whiche shall followe. A beginnyng what it is.

The seconde is a priuie twining, or close creping in, to win fauor with moche circūstaunce, called insinuacion. Insinuacion.

For in all matters that man taketh in hande, this consideracion ought firste to be had, that we firste diligētly expende the cause, before we goe through with it, that wee maie bee assured, whether it be lawfull, or otherwise. And not onely this, but also we muste aduisedly marke the menne, before whom we speake, the men against whom we speake, and al the circumstaunces, whiche belong vnto the matter. If the matter bee honest, goodlie, and soche as of right ought to bee well liked, we maie vse an opē beginning, and will the hearers to reioice, and so go through with our part. If the cause be lothsome, or soche as will not be well borne withall, but nedeth moche helpe, and fauour of the herers: it shall be the speakers parte, priuely to get fauour and by humble talke, to winne their good willes. Firste, requiring theim to giue hym the hearyng, and herte, not streightlie to giue iudgement, but with mercie to mitigate, all rigour of the Lawe.

Or in a cõplaint made, whiche the counsaill shall greuously stomack, to exaggerate it the more, if we se iuste cause to set it forwarde. And whereas many often tymes, are suspecte to speake thynges of malice, or for hope of gain, or els for a set purpose, as who should saie, this I cã do: the wisest will euer more clere them selues, frõ all soche offences, and neuer giue any token, so moche as in them lieth, of any light suspicion.

In accusing any persone, it is best to heape all his faultes together, and whereas any thing, semeth to make for hym, to extenuate the same to the outermoste. In defendyng any persone, it is wisedome to rehearse all his vertues first and formost, and with asmoche art as maie be, to wipe awaie soche faultes, as were laied to his charge. And before all thynges, this would bee well marked, that, whensoeuer we shall largely talke of any matter, we alwaies so inuent, and find out our first enterance in the cause, that the same be for euer taken, euen from the nature and bowelles thereof, that al thinges, whiche shall firste bee spoken, maie seme to agree with the matter, and not made as a shippe mannes hose, to serue for euery legge. Now, whereas any long talke is vsed, the beginning therof, is either taken of the matter self, or els of the persones, that are there present, or els of them, against whõ the accion is intended. And bicause the winnyng of victorie, resteth in three pointes: First, in apt teachyng the hearers, what the matter is, next in gettyng them to giue good eare, and thirdly, in winnyng their fauour: We shall make them vnderstande the matter easely, if firste of all we begin, to expounde it plainly, and in brief wordes, settyng out the meaning, make them harken to our saiynges. And by no meanes better, shall the standers by, knowe what we saie, and carry awaie that, whiche thei heare, then if at the first, we couche together, the whole course of our tale, in as small roume as we can, either by defining the nature, and substaunce of our matter, or els by diuidyng it in an apt order, so that neither the hearers bee troubled, with confoundyng of matter, and heaping one thing in an others necke, nor yet their memory dulled with ouerthwart rehearsall, and disorderly telling of our tale. We shall make the people attentiue, and gladde to hear vs, if we will promise them, to speake of weightie matters, of wholsome doctrine, soche as thei haue heretofore wã-

The thynges moste meete for euery Oratour.

To make the hearers to vnderstande the matter.

To make hearers attentiue.

ted

ted: yea, if we promise to tell thē thinges, concernyng either their owne profite, or thaduauncement of their countrie, no doubt we shal haue them diligent hearers. Or els if thei like not, to heare weighty affaires, we maie promise thē strange newes, and perswade them, we will make them laugh, and thinke you not, that thei wil rather heare a foolishe tale, thā a wise and wholsome counsaill? Demosthenes therefore, seyng at a tyme, the fondnesse of the people to be suche, that he could not obtain of them, to heare hym speake his minde, in an earnest cause, concernyng the wealth of his countrey, required them to tary, and he would tell them a tale of Robin Hode. Wherat thei all stated, & longed to knowe what that should be. He began streight to tel them, of one that had sold his Asse to an other man, whereupon thei bothe went forth to the nert Market toune, hauyng with theim the said Asse. And the weather being somwhat hot, the first owner, which had now sold his Asse, went of that side the Asse, which kept hym best from the heate. The other beyng now the owner, and in full possessiō, would not suffre that, but required him to giue place, and suffre hym to take the beste commoditie of his owne Asse, that he could haue, whereat the other answered and saied, naie by saint Marie sir, you serue me not so, I sold you the Asse, but I sold you not the shadowe of the Asse, and therefore picke you hence. When the people heard this, thei laughed apace, and likte it very well. Whereupon Demosthenes hauyng wonne them together, by this mery toye rebuked their folie, that wer so slacke to heare good thynges and so redy to heare a tale of a Tubbe, and thus hauyng thē attentiue, perswaded with them to heare him, in matters of greate importaunce, the whiche otherwise, he could neuer haue doen, if he had not taken this waie with hym.

Demosthenes tale of the Asses shadowe.

We shall get the good willes of our hearers, iiij. maner of waies, either beginnyng to speake of our selues, or els of our aduersaries, or els of the people, and companie present, or last of all, if we begin of the matter it self, and so goe thorowe with it. We shall get fauour for our own sakes, if we shall modestlie set foorthe our bounden dueties, and declare our seruice doen, without all suspicion of hauntyng, either to the common weale, as in seruyng, either in the warres abrode, or els in bearyng some office at home, concernyng the

To gette the hearers good wille.

tranquillitie of our countrie: or in helping our frendes, kinsfolkes, and poore neighbours, to declare our goodnes, doen heretofore towardes theim: and lastlie, if we shewe without all ostentacion, aswell our good willes towardes the iudges there, as also pleasures doen for theim in tymes paste, to the outermoste of our power. And if any thyng seme to let our cause by any misreport, or euil behauior of our partes heretofore: best it were in moste humble wise to seke fauour, and sleightlie to aduoide all soche offences, laied to our charge.

Wee shall get fauour, by speakyng of our aduersaries, if wee shall make soche reporte of them, that the hearers shall either hate to heare of them, or outerly enuie them, or els altogether despise them. We shall sone make our aduersaries to be lothed, if we shewe and set forthe, some naughtie deede of theirs, and declare how cruelly, how vilie, and how maliciouslie, they haue vsed other men heretofore.

We shall make them to be enuied, if we reporte vnto the Iudges, that thei beare them selues haulte, and stoute vpon their wealthie frendes, and oppresse poore men by might, not regardyng their honestie, but sekyng alwaies by hooke and croke, to robbe poore men of their Farmes, Leases, and money. And by the waie, declare some one thing, that they haue doen, whiche honest eares would scant abide to heare.

We shall make theim to bee set naught by, if we declare what luskes thei are, how vnthriftelie thei liue, how thei do nothing from daie to daie, but eate, drinke, and slepe, rather sekyng to liue like beastes, then mindyng to liue like men, either in profiting their countrie, or in tendering their own commoditie, as by right they ought to doe.

Wee shall get good will, by speakyng of the Iudges and hearers: if we shall commende their worthie dooynges, and praise their iuste dealing, and faithfull execucion of the law, and tell theim in what estimacion the whole countrey hath thē, for their vpright iudgyng and determinyng of matters, and therefore in this cause nedes must it bee, that they must answere their former doinges, and iudge so of this matter, as all good men haue opinion they will doe.

We shall finde fauor by speaking of the matter, if in handeling our owne cause, we commende it accordinglie, & dispraise the attempt of our aduersary, extenuating al his chief

purposes,

purpoſes, ſo muche as ſhalbe neceſſarie.

Now reſteth for me to ſpeake of the other parte of Entraunce into an Oration, whiche is called a cloſe, or priuie gettyng of fauour when the cauſe is daungerouſe, and cannot eaſely be heard without diſpleaſure. Inſinuacion.

A priuy begynnyng, or creppyng in otherwyſe called Inſinuation muſt then, and not els be vſed, when the iudge is greaued with vs, and our cauſe hated of the hearers.

The cauſe ſelfe oftentymes is not lyked for thre diuerſe cauſes, if either the matter ſelfe be vnhoneſt, and not meete to be vttered before an audience, or els if the iudge him ſelfe by a former tale be perſwaded to take part againſt vs, or laſt if at that tyme we are forced to ſpeake, when the iudge is wearied with hearing of other. For the iudge him ſelf beyng wearied by hearyng, wil be muche more greued if any thyng be ſpoken either ouermuche, or els agaynſt his likyng. Yea who ſeeth not that a wearied man will ſoone miſlike a right good matter: If the matter be ſo hainouſe that it cannot be hearde without offence, (as if I ſhoulde take a mans parte, who were generally hated) wiſedome were to lette hym go and take ſome other whom all mē liked: or if the cauſe were thought not honeſt, to take ſum other in ſtede therof which were better liked, till they were better prepared to heare the other: ſo that euermore nothing ſhould bee ſpoken at the firſte, but that whiche might pleaſe the iudge, and not to be acknowen ones to thinke of that, which yet we minde moſt of al to perſwade. Therfore, when the hearers are ſomwhat calmed, we may entre by litle and litle into the matter, and ſaie that thoſe thinges, whiche our aduerſarie doeth miſlike in the perſon accuſed, we alſo do miſlyke the ſame.

And when the hearers are thus wōne, we may ſaie, that all, whiche was ſaied, nothyng toucheth vs, and that wee minde to ſpeake nothing at al againſt our aduerſaries, neither this waie, nor that waie. Neither were it wiſedome openly to ſpeake againſt theim, whiche are generally well eſteemed and taken for honeſt menne. And yet it were not amiſſe for the furtheraunce of our owne cauſes cloſely to ſpeake our fantaſie, and ſo, ſtreighte to aulter their hartes. Yea and to tel the iudges the lyke in a like matter, that ſuch and ſuche iudgement hath bene geuen: And therefore at this

tyme, consideryng the same case, and the same necessitie, like iudgement is looked for. But if the aduersarie haue so tolde his tale, that the iudge is wholy bent, to giue sentence with hym, and that it is well knowen, vnto what reasons the Iudge moste leaned, and was perswaded: wee maie firste promise to weaken that, whiche the aduersarie hath made moste stronge for hym self, and confute that parte, whiche the hearers did moste esteme, and beste of all like. Or els we maie take aduauntage, of some parte of our aduersaries tale, and talke of that firste, whiche he spake laste: or els begynne so, as though wee doubted, what were beste firste to speake, or to what parte it were moste reason, firste of all to aunswere, wonderyng, and takyng GOD to witnesse, at the straungenesse of his reporte, and confirmacion of his cause. For when the standers by, perceiue that the aunswere (whom the aduersaries thought in their mynde, was wholly abashed) feareth so little the obiections of his aduersarie, and is readie to aunswere *Ab omnia quare*, with a bold countenaunce: Thei will thinke that thei theim selues, rather gaue rashe credite, and were ouerlight in beleuyng the firste tale: then that he, whiche nowe aunswereth in his owne cause, speaketh without grounde, or presumeth vpon a stomocke, to speake for hym self, without iuste consideracion.

But if the tyme be so spent, and the tale so long in telling that all men be almost wearied, to heare any more: then we must make promise at the firste, to be very short, and to lappe vp our matter in fewe woordes.

Wirthe makyng good at the beginning

And if time maie so serue, it wer good when men be wearied, to make them somewhat merie, and to begin with some pleasaunt tale, to take an occasion to iest wittely, vpon some thyng, then presently doen.

Straunge thynges sometyme nedefull to be tolde at the firste.

Or if the tyme wille not serue, for pleasaunte tales, it were good to tell some straunge thyng, some terrible wonder, that thei all maie quake, at the onelie hearyng of the same. For, like as when a mannes stomacke is full, and can brooke no more meate, he maie stirre his appetite, either by some Tarte sawce, or elles quicken it somewhat, by some sweete dishe: Euen so when the audience is wearied, with weightie affaires, some straunge wonders, maie call vp

their

their spirites, or els some merie tale, maie cheare their heauie lookes.

And assuredly, it is no small connyng, to moue the hartes of menne, either to mirthe, or sadnesse: for he that hath soche skill, shall not lightly faile of his purpose, what soeuer matter he taketh in hande.

Thus haue I taught, what an enteraunce is, and how it should be vsed. Notwithstandyng, I thinke it not amisse, often to rehearse this one poinct, that euermore the beginning be not ouermoche laboured, nor curiously made, but rather apte to the purpose, semyng vpon presente occasion, euermore to take place, and so to be deuised, as though we speake altogether, without any greate studie, framyng rather our tale to good reason, then our tongue, to vaine paintyng of the matter.

In all whiche discourse, whereas I haue framed all the lessons, and euery enteraunce properly, to serue for pleading at the barre: yet assuredly, many of theim maie well helpe those, that preache Gods truthe, and exhort men in open assemblies to vpright dealyng. Enteraunces apte to the purpose.

And no doubte, many of theim haue moche neede to knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale, maie hange together, where as oftentymes thei beginne as moche from the matter, as it is betwixte Douer and Barwike, where at some take pitie, and many for wearinesse, can skante abide their beginnyng, it is so longe or thei speake, any thyng to the purpose. Therefore, the learned clerkes of this our time, haue thought it good, that all Preachers should take their beginnyng, vppon the occasion of soche matter, as is there written, declaryng why and wherefore, and vppon what consideracion soche woordes, were in those dates so spoken, that the reason giuen of soche talke then vtterde, mighte serue well to beginne their Sermon. Or els to gather some seuerall sentence at the firste, whiche briefly comprehendeth the whole matter followyng, or elles to beginne with some apte similitude, example, or wittie saiyng. Or lastlie, to declare what went before, and so to shewe that, whiche followeth after. Yea, sometymes to beginne lamentably, with an vnfained bewailyng of synne, and a terrible declaryng of Gods threates: Sometymes, to take occasion of a matter Enteraunces apte for preachers.

newly

newly done, or of the company there present, so that alwais the begynnyng be aunswerable to the matter folowyng.

Of Narration.

After the preface & first Enteraũce, the matter must be opened, and euery thyng lyuely tolde, that the herers may fully perceaue what we go about, now in reportyng an acte don, or vtteryng the state of a controuersie, we must vse these lessons, whereof the firste is to be shorte, the next to be plaine, and the thirde is, to speake likely, and with reason, that the hearers may remember, vnderstande, & beleue the rather, suche thynges as shalbe saied.

Narracion. i. Briefe. ii. Plaine. iii. Probable

And first whereas we should be shorte in telling the matter as it lyeth, the best is to speake no more than needes we muste, not rauyng it from the botome, or tellynge bytales suche as rude people full ofte doe, nor yet touchynge euery poinct, but tellyng the whole in a grosse summe. And where as many matters shal neither harme vs, nor yet do vs good being brought in, and reported by vs: it were well done not to medle with them at al, nor yet twyse to tel one thyng, or reporte that, whiche is odiouse to be tolde againe. Notwithstandyng this one thing woulde bee wel considered, that in sekyng to be short, we be not obscure. And therfore to make our matter plain, that all may vnderstande it, the best were first and formest to tell euery thyng in order, so muche as is nedefull, obseruyng bothe the tyme, the place, the maner of doing, and the circumstances thereunto belonging. Wherin good heede woulde bee had that nothyng bee doubtfullie spoken, whiche maie haue a double meanyng, nor yet any thyng vttered that maye make asmuche against vs, as with vs, but that all our woordes runne to confirme wholly our matter. And suerly if the matter be not so plainely told that all may vnderstande it, we shall doe litle good in the reste of our reporte. For in other partes of the Oration if we bee sõwhat darke, it is the lesse harme, we may be more plaine in an other place. But if the Narration, or substaunce of the tale bee not well perceyued, the whole Oration besydes is darkened altogether. For to what ende should we go about to proue that, whiche the hearers know not what it is? Neither can we haue any libertie to tel our tale again, after we haue ones tolde it, but must streight go furth and confirme

Breuitie, how it might be vsed.

Plainnesse, how it might be vsed.

that

that whiche we haue saied, howsoeuer it is. Therefore the reportyng of our tale, maie sone appere plain, if we first expresse our minde, in plain woordes, and not seke these roperipe termes, whiche betraie rather a foole, then commende a wise man: and againe, if we orderly obserue circumstaunces, and tell one thyng after an other, from tyme to tyme, not tomblyng one tale, in an others necke, tellyng halfe a tale, and so leauyng it rawe, backyng and hemmyng, as though our wittes and our senses, were a wolle gathering. Neither should we suffre our tongue, to run before our wit, but with moche warenesse, set forthe our matter, and speake our minde, euermore with iudgement.

We shall make our saiynges appere likely, and probable: if we speake directly, as the cause requireth, if we shewe the verie purpose of all the deuise, and frame our inuencion, according as we shall thinke them, moste willyng to allowe it, that haue the hearyng of it. Probalitie how it maie be vsed.

The narracion, reported in matters of iudgement, shall seme to stande with reason, if wee make our talke to agree with the place, tyme, thyng, and persone, if we shall shewe, that what soeuer we saie, thesame by all likelihodes is true, if our coniectures, tokens, reasons, and argumentes be soche that neither in them, there appere any fablyng, nor yet that any thyng was spoken, whiche might of right, otherwise be taken, and that we not onely speake this, but that diuers other of good credite, will stande with vs, in defense of the same, all whiche reportyng, maie sone be liked, and the tale so told, may be thought very reasonable. Yea, we shall make our doynges seme reasonable, if we frame our worke to natures will, and seke none other meanes, but soche onely, as the honeste and wise, haue euer vsed and allowed, bringyng in and blamyng the euill alwaies, for soche faultes chiefly, whereunto thei moste of all, are like to bee subiecte, as to accuse a spend all, of theft: a whoremonger, of adulterie: a rash quareller, of manslaughter: and so of other. Sometimes it is good and profitable, to be merie and pleasaunt, in reportyng a matter, against some maner of manne, and in some cause. For, neither against all men that offende, nor yet against all matters, should the wittie alwaies vse iesting. And now, for those that shall tell their minde, in the other kindes of Ora- Narracion in iudgement

torie,

Narration in praisyng and counsell geuyng.

torie, as in the kinde Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, in exhortyng, or perswadyng: the learned haue thought meete, that thei must also call, the whole somme of their matter, to one especiall poinct, that the rather the hearers, maie better perceiue, wherat thei leauell all their reasons. As if a clarke doe take in hande, to declare Gods heste, he will after his enteraunce, tell what thyng is chiefly purposed in that place, and nexte after, shewe other thynges annexed thereunto, whereby not onely the hearers, maie get greate learnyng, and take moche profite of his doctrine: but he hymself maie knowe the better what to saie, what order to vse, and when to make an ende.

Preachers what order they vse.

Some doe vse after the litterall sense, to gather a misticall vnderstandyng, and to expounde the saiynges spirituatlie, makyng their Narracion altogether, of thynges heauenlie. Some rehearsing a text particularly spoken, applie thesame generally vnto all states, enlargyng the Narracion moste godly, by comparing wordes long ago spoken, with thinges and matters, that are presently doen. Notwithstandyng, the auncient fathers, bicause thei did onely expounde the Scriptures, for the moste part, made no artificiall Narracion, but vsed to followe soche order, as the plain text gaue theim. So that, if euery sentence were plainly opened to the hearers, thei went not moche farther, sauyng that when any worde gaue them occasion, to speake of some vice, thei would largelie saie their minde, in that behalfe: as Chrisostome and Basile haue doen, with other.

The ware markyng, and heedie obseruacion of tyme, place, and persone, maie teache all menne (that bee not paste teachyng) how to frame their Narracion, in all controuersies, that are called in question, and therefore, when presente occasion, shall giue good instruccion, what nede more lessōs? And especially, seyng Nature teacheth what is comely, and what is not comely, for all tymes.

Yea, what tell I now of soche lessons, seyng GOD hath raised soche worthie Preachers, in this our tyme, that their godlie and learned doynges, maie bee a moste iuste example for all other to followe: aswell for their liuyng, as for their learnyng: I feare me, the preceptes be more in nomber, then will be well kept, or followed this yere.

Of

Of Diuision.

After our tale is tolde, and the hearers haue well learned, what we meane, the nerte is to repoꝛte, wherin the aduerſarie and we, can not agree, and what it is, wherein wee dooe agree. And then to part out ſoche pꝛincipall poinctes, whereof we purpoſe fully to debate, and laie them out to bee knowen: that the hearers maie plainly ſee, what wee will ſaie, and perceiue at a woꝛde, the ſubſtaunce of our meanyng. Now, Tullie would not haue a diuiſion to bee made, of, oꝛ aboue thꝛee partes, at the moſte, noꝛ yet leſſe then thꝛee neither, if nede ſo require. Foꝛ if we haue thꝛee chief groundes, whereupon to reſt, applyng all our argumentes thereunto, wee ſhall bothe haue matter inough to ſpeake of, the hearers ſhall with eaſe, vnderſtande our meanyng, and the whole oꝛacion ſhall ſone be at an ende. Notwithſtãding, this leſſon muſt not ſo curiouſly be kepte, as though it were ſinne, to make the diuiſion of fower, oꝛ fiue partes: but it was ſpoken foꝛ this ende, that the diuiſion ſhould be made of as fewe, as maie be poſſible, that men maie the better carye it awaie, & the repoꝛter with moꝛe eaſe maie remẽber, what he hath to ſaie. Diuiſion of thꝛee partes at the moſt.

Now in pꝛaiſyng, oꝛ diſpꝛaiſyng, in perſwading, oꝛ diſſwading, diuiſiõs muſt alſo be vſed. As if one would cnueigh againſt thoſe women, that will not giue their owne childꝛen ſucke, he might vſe this diuiſion. Where as women commonly, putte their childꝛen foꝛthe to nurſyng, I will firſt pꝛoue, that it is bothe againſt the lawe of Nature, and alſo againſt Gods holie will: again I will ſhewe that it is harmfull, bothe foꝛ the childes bodie, and alſo foꝛ his witte, laſtlie, I will pꝛoue that the mother ſelf, falleth into moche ſickeneſſe thereby. Women rebuked that nurſe not their owne childꝛen.

Firſt, Nature giueth milke to the woman, foꝛ none other ende, but that ſhe ſhould beſtowe it vpon her childe. And we ſee beaſtes feede their youngones, and why ſhould not women? God alſo commaundeth all women, to bꝛyng vp their childꝛen.

Againe, the childꝛens bodies, ſhall bee ſo affected, as the Milkes, whiche thei receiue. Nowe, if the Nurſe bee of an euill complexion, oꝛ haue ſome hidde diſeaſe, the childe ſuckyng of her breaſt, muſte needes take parte with her. And if that be true, whiche the learned dooe ſaie, that the tempera-

ture

ture of the minde, folowes the constitucion of the bodie, nedes must it be, that if the Nurse be of a noughtie nature, the childe muste take thereafter. But if it bee, the Nurse bee of a good complexion, of an honest behauiour (whereas contrary wise, Maidens that haue made a scape, are commonly called to be Nurses) yet can it not be, but that the mothers milke, should be moche more naturall for the childe, then the milke of a straunger. As by experience, let a manne be long vsed, to one kinde of drinke, if the same manne chaunge his aire, and his drinke, he is like to mislike it. Lastly for the mothers howe are thei troubled with sore breastes, besides other diseases, that happen through plentie of milke, the which Phisicians can tell, and women full oft haue felte.

Likewise in speakyng of fastyng, I might vse this diuision. First, it is godlie to faste, bicause the spirite is more free, and apter for a good worke. Again, it is wholsome, bicause therby euill humours are wasted, and many diseases, either clerely put awaie, or moche abated of their tirannie. Lastlie it is profitable, bicause menne spende lesse money, the lesse banquetyng that thei vse. Therefore, if menne loue either to bee wise, godly, healthfull, or wealthie, lette theim vse fastyng, and forbeare excesse.

Now vpon a diuision, there might also bee made a subdiuision, as where I saie, it is godlie to faste, I might diuide godlinesse, into the hearyng of Gods worde, into prayeng deuoutly, and charitable dealyng with all the worlde.

Againe, speakyng of health, I might saie that the whole bodie, is not onely more lustie, with moderate fastyng, but also more apt for all assaies. The learned man studieth better, when he fasteth, then when he is full. The counsailour heareth causes with lesse pain beyng emptie, then he shalbe able, after a full gorge.

Againe, whereas the fiue senses, bryng vs to the knowlege of many thynges: the more apte that euery one is, the more pleasure thei bryng euer with them. The eyes se more clerely, the eares heare more quickely, the tongue rowleth more roundly, and tasteth thinges better, our feling is more perfite: and the nose smelleth euill sauours the sooner.

Philosophie diuided.

Philosophie is deuided, into the knowlege of thinges naturall, thinges morall, and into that arte, whiche by reason

findeth

findeth out the truthe, commonly called Logique. Now, of these three partes of Philosophie, I might make other three subdiuisions, and largely set theim out. But these maie suffice for this tyme.

Of Propositions.

Quintilian willeth, that straight and immediatly, after the Narracion, there should also be vsed soche sentences, as might be full of pithe, and contain in them the substaunce of moche matter, the rather that the hearers maie be stirred, vpon the onely reporte, of some sentencious saiyng, or weightie terte in the lawe. As in speakyng largely against extorcion, one might after his reasons, applied to the purpose, bring in a pithie and sentēcious proposicion, as thus. Those handes are euill, that scratche out the iyes: and what other dooe thei, that by force robbe their christian brethren? Wo be to that realme, where might out goeth right. Or thus. When rage dooeth rule, and reason dooeth waite, what good man can hope, to liue long in rest. Also an acte of a realme, maie well serue to make a proposicion. As thus. The lawe is plain: that man shall die as an offendour, what soeuer he bee, that breaketh vp an other mannes hous, and seketh by spoile to vndo his neighbour. Now, here is no mā that doubteth, but that thou hast doen this deede, therefore, what nedes any more, but that thou must suffer, according to the lawe? In diuiding a matter, proposicions are vsed, and orderly applied, for the better settyng forthe of the cause. As if I should speake of thākfulnesse, I might first shewe, what is thankfulnesse, nert, how nedefull it is, and last, how commendable and profitable it is vniuersally? Thankfulnesse is a kind of remembryng good will shewed, and an earnest desire, to requite thesame. Without thankfulnesse, no manne would dooe for an other. The brute beastes, haue these properties, and therefore, man can not want them, without his great rebuke. Some proposicions are plain spoken, without any cause, or reason added thereunto. As thus. I haue charged this man with felony, as you haue heard, but he denieth it, therefore iudge you it, I praie you. Sometymes a cause is added, after the alegyng of a proposicion. As thus, I haue accused this manne of felonie, bicause he tooke my purse, by the high waie side, and therefore I call for iustice. Thus pro-

Thākfulnes what it is.

Diuision of proposicions.

posicions might be gathered, nert and immediatly after the rehearsall of any cause, and beautifie moche the matter, beyng either alledged with the cause annered, or els beeyng plainly spoken, without giuyng any reason to it at all.

¶ Of confirmacion of matters in iudgement.

WHen we haue declared the chief poinctes, whereunto we purpose, to referre all our reasons, we must heape matter, and finde out argumentes, to confirme the same, to the outermost of our power, makyng first the strongest reasons that we can, and nert after, gatheryng all probable causes together, that beyng in one heape, thei maie seme strong, and of greate waight. And whatsoeuer the aduersarie hath saied againste vs, to aunswere thereunto, as tyme and place beste maie serue. That if his reasons be light, and more good maie be doen, in confutyng his, then in confirmyng our owne: it were best of all to set vpon hym, and put awaie by arte, all that he hath fondly saied without witte. For prouyng the matter, and searchyng out the substaunce, or nature of the cause, the places of Logique, must helpe to set it forware. But when the persone shall be touched, and not the matter, we muste seke els where, and gather these places together.

Causes of confirmacio two waies vsed.

i. The name.
ii. The maner of liuyng.
iii. Of what house he is, of what countrie, and of what yeres.
iiii. The wealth of the man.
v. His behauior or daily enurynge with thinges
vi. What nature he hath.
vii. Whereunto he is moste giuen.
viii. What he purposeth from tyme to tyme.
ix. What he hath doen heretofore.
x. What hath befalne vnto hym heretofore.
xi. What he hath confessed, or what he hath to saie for hymself.

IN well examinyng of all these matters, moche maie be saied, and greate likelihodes maie be gathered, either to or fro, the which places I vsed heretofore, whē I spake of matters in iudgemēt, against the accused soldior.

Now

Now in tryng the truthe, by reasons gathered of the matter: we must first marke what was doen at that tyme, by the suspected persone, when sochе and sochе offences were committed. Yea, what he did, before this acte was doen. Againe the time must be marked, the place, the maner of doyng, and what harte he bare him. As the opportunitie of doing, and the power he had to doe this deede. The whiche all set together, shall either acquite hym, or finde hym giltie. These argumētes serue, to cōfirme a matter in iudgement, for any hainous offence. But in the other causes, whiche are occupied, either in praisyng, or dispraisyng, in perswadyng, or dissuadyng, the places of confirmation be sochе, as are before rehearsed, as when we commende a thyng, to proue it thus.

Honest.
Profitable.
Easie.
Necessarie.
} to be doen.

AND so of other in like maner, or els to vse in stede of these, the places of Logique. Therefore, when we go about to confirme any cause, we maie gather these grounde aboue rehearsed, and euen as the case requireth, so frame our reasons. In confutyng of causes, the like maie be had, as we vsed to proue: if we take the contrary of thesame. For as thinges are alledged, so thei maie be wrested, and as houses ar builded, so thei may be ouerthrowē. What though many coniectures be gathered, and diuers matters framed, to ouerthrowe the defendaunte: yet witte maie finde out bywaies to escape, and sochе shiftes maie be made, either in auoidyng the daunger, by plain denyall, or els by obiections, and reboundyng againe of reasons made, that small harme shall tourne to the accused persone, though the presumptiōs of his offence be greate, and he thought by good reason to be faultie. The places of Logique, as I saied, can not be spared for the confirmacion of any cause. For, who is he, that in cōfirmyng a matter, will not knowe the nature of it, the cause of it, the effecte of it, what is agreyng thereunto, what likenesse there is betwirte that, and other thynges, what examples maie be vsed, what is contrary, and what can be said againste it. Therfore, I wish that euery man should desire, and

Confutacion.

Places of Logique moste needfull.

seke to haue his Logique perfect, before he looke to profite in Rhetorique, considerynge the grounde, and confirmacion of causes, is for the moste part gathered out of Logique.

¶ Of Conclusion.

Conclusion what it is.

A Conclusion, is the handsome lappinge vp together, and briefe heappyng of all that, whiche was said before, stirryng the hearers by large vtteraunce, and plentifull gathering of good matter, either the one waie, or the other.

Conclusiō, of two sortes.

There are twoo partes of a conclusion, the one resteth in gatheryng together briefly, all suche argumentes, as were before rehearsed, reportyng the somme of theim, in as fewe woordes as can be, and yet after suche a sort, that moche varietie be vsed, bothe when the rehearsall is made, as also after the matter is fully reported. For, if the repetition should be naked, and onely set forthe in plain woordes, without any chaunge of speache, or shift of Rhetorique: neither should the hearers take pleasure, nor yet the matter take effecte. Therefore, when the Orator shall touche any place, which maie giue iust cause, to make an exclamation, and stirre the hearers to be sory, to be glad, or to be offended: it is necessary to vse arte, to the outermoste. Or when he shall come to the repeatyng of an hainous acte, and the maner therof: he maie set the Iudges on fire, and heate theim earnestly against the wicked offendour. Thus in repeatyng, arte maie bee vsed, and nerte with the onely rehearsall, matters maie be handesomely gathered vp together.

The other part of a conclusion resteth, either in augmentyng, and vehemently enlargyng that, whiche before was in fewe woordes spoken, to sette the Iudge, or hearers in a heate: or els to mitigate and asswage displeasure conceiued, with moche lamentyng of the matter, and mouyng theim thereby, the rather to shewe mercie. Amplification is of two sortes, whereof I will speake more at large, in the nert chapiter. The one resteth in woordes, the other in matter. Suche woordes must be vsed, as be of greate waight, wherein either is some Metaphore, or els some large vnderstandyng is conteined. Yea, woordes that fill the mouthe, and haue a sound with them, sette forthe a matter very well. And sometymes woordes twise spoken, make the matter appere greater.

Again

Again, when we first speake our minde in lowe woordes and after vse weightier, the fault likewise, semeth to be greter. As when one had killed a gentleman, thus might an other amplifie his mynde. For one slaue to strike an other, were worthie of punishemente, but what deserueth that wretche, whiche not onely striketh a manne, but striketh a gentleman, and not onely striketh a gẽtleman, but cowardly killeth a gentleman, not giuyng hym one wound, but giuyng hym twentie. To kill any man in soche sort, deserueth death, but what sate you of hym, that not onely killeth hym so, but also hangeth hym moste spitefully vpon a Tree. And yet not contente with that, but scourgeth hym, and mangeleth hym, when he is dedde, and laste of all, maketh a ieste of his moste naughtie deede, leauyng a writyng there, aboute the dedde mannes necke. Now then, seeyng his crueltie is soche, that the onely killyng, can not contente his Deuilishe deede, and moste dedly malice: I aske it for Gods loue, and in the waie of Iustice, that this wicked deuill, maie suffre worthie death, and be punished, to the example of all other. Amplifiyng of the matter, consisteth in heapyng, and enlarging of those places, whiche serue for confirmacion of a matter. As the definicion, the cause, the consequent, the contrary, the example, and soche other.

Againe, amplificacion maie bee vsed, when we make the lawe to speake, the dedde person, to make his complaint, the crountrey to crie out of soche a deede. As if some worthie mã were cast awaie, to make the countrey saie thus: if England could speake, would she not make soche, and soche complaintes? If the walles of soche a Citee or Toune, had a tongue, would thei not talke thus and thus? And to be short, al soche thinges should be vsed, to make the cause seme great, which concerne God, the common weale, or the Lawe of Nature. For, if any of these three be hindered, we haue a large fielde to walke in. In praisyng, or dispraisyng, we muste exaggerate those places towardes the ende, whiche make menne wounder, at the straungenesse of any thyng. In perswading or dissuadyng, the rehearsall of commodities, and heapyng of examples together, increase moche the matter. It were a greate labour, to tell all the commodities, and all the properties, whiche belong vnto the conclusion. For soche arte

maie bee vsed in this behalfe, that though the cause be veris euill, yet a wittie man maie get the ouerhande, if he be cunnyng in his facultie.

Athenians forbad cōclusiōs

The Athenians therefore, did straightly forbid by a lawe to vse any conclusion of the cause, or any enteraunce of the matter, to winne fauour. Cicero did herein so excelle, that lightly he got the victorie in all matters, that euer he tooke in hande. Therefore, as iuste praise ariseth by this part, so I doubt not, but the wittiest wil take moste paines, in this behalfe, and the honeste, for euer will vse, the defence of moste honest matters. Weapons maie bee abused for murder, and yet weapons are onely ordeined for saufgarde.

¶ Of the figure amplificacion.

Amplificatiō

EMong all the figures of Rhetorique, there is no one that so moche helpeth forward an Oracion, & beautifieth thesame, with soche delitefull ornamentes, as dooeth amplificacion. For, if either wee purpose to make our tale appere vehemente, to seme pleasaunte, or to bee well stored with moche copie: nedes muste it bee, that here we seke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And now, bicause none shall better bee hable, to amplifie any matter then those, whiche beste can praise, or moste dispraise any thing here vpon yearth, I thinke it nede full first of al, to gather soche thinges together, whiche help beste this waie. Therefore, in praisyng or disprasyng, wee must bee well stored euer, with soche good sentences, as are often vsed in this our life, the whiche through art beyng increased, helpe moche to perswasion. As for example, where it is saied (gentle behauiour winneth good will, and clearely quencheth hatered) I might in commendyng a noble gentle manne, for his lowlinesse, declare at large, howe commendable, and howe profitable a thyng, gentle behauiour is, and of the other side, how hatefull and how harmefull, a proude disdainfull manne is, and howe beastlie a Nature he hath, that beyng but a manne, thinketh hymself better then any other manne is, and also ouer good to haue a matche, or fellowe in this life. As thus, if lowelinesse and Charitee maintaine life, what a beaste is he, that through hatered, will purchase death? If God warneth vs, to loue one an other, and learne of hym to bee gentle, because he was gentle

Lowlinesse.

and

and humble in harte: how cruell are thei, that dare withstād his commaundement? If the subiect rebell against his kyng, we crie with one voyce, hang hym, hang hym, and shall we not thinke hym worthie the vilest death of all, that beyng a creature, contempneth his creatour, beyng a mortall man, neglecteth his heauenly maker, being a vile moulde of claie, setteth light by so mightie a GOD, and euer liuyng kyng? Beastes and birdes without reason, loue one an other, thei shroude, and thei flocke together, and shall men endued with soche giftes, hate his euen christian, and eschue compainie? When Shepe doe straie, or cattell doe striue one against an other, there are Dogges readie to call them in, yea, thei will bite them (as it hath been full often seen) if twoo fight together: and shall manne wante reason, to barke against his lewde affections, or at the least, shall he haue none to checke him for his faultes, and force him to forgiue? Likewise if you would rebuke, one that giueth eare to backbiters and slaunderers, you muste declare, what a greate mischief, an euill tongue is, what a poison it is, yea, what a murder, to take a mannes good name from hym. Wee coumpte hym worthie death, that poiseneth a mannes body, & shall not he suffre the like pain, that poiseneth a mānes honestie, and seketh to obscure and darken his estimacion? Menne be well excepted emong the wise, not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Backbityng.

Now take awaie the thyng, whereby menne are commended: and what are menne, other then brute beastes? For beastes doe nothyng against nature, but he that goeth against honestie, the same manne fighteth against Nature, whiche would that all men should liue well. When a man is killed secretly, we aske iudgement for the offendour, and shall thei escape without iudgement, that couertly murder a mannes soule? That separate hym from God, that iudge hym to hel, whose life hath euer been moste heauenlie? Whē our purse is piked, we make straight searche for it againe, and imprison the offendour, and shal we not seke recouery of our good name, when euill toungues haue stained it? If our fame bee of more prise, then is either Golde or Grotes, what meane wee to bee so careleste in kepyng the one, and so carefull in kepyng the other? Fonde is his purpose, that beeyng in the raine, casteth his garmente in a bushe, and standeth naked

himself, for saving the gloss of his gaie coate. And yet what other thyng do thei, that esteme the losse of money, for great lacke, and coumpt not the losse of their honestie, for any wāt at all? Thus we see, that from vertues and vices, soche amplifications maie be made, and no doubt, he that can praise, or dispraise any thyng plentifully, is hable moste copiously, to eraggerate any matter.

Sentences gathered to help Implification.

Again, sentences gathered or heaped together, commend moche the matter. As if one should saie, Reuengemente belongeth to God alone, and thereby exhorte menne to pacience. He might bryng in these sentences with him, and giue greate cause of moche matter. No manne is hurt, but of him self, that is to saie: aduersitie or wrong suffryng is no harme to hym, that hath a constaunt harte, and liues vpright in all his doynges.

Reuengemēt forbidden.

He is more harmed that dooeth wrong, then he that hath suffered wrong.

He is the flouter that cōtemneth, then he is that committeth wrong.

Yea, he gaineth not a little, that had rather suffer moche losse, then trie his right by contencion.

Gaine got by fraude, is harme and no gaine.

There is no greater victorie, then for manne to rule his affeccions.

It is a greater matter, to ouercome anger, then to winne a fortresse, or a tower.

There is no greater token of a noble harte, then to contemne wrong.

He that requiteth euill for euill, through hatred of an euill manne, is made euill hymself, and therefore worthie to be hated.

He that contemneth his enemie in battaile, is coumpted a good man of warre, and a wise.

He that requiteth good for euill, is an Aungell of God.

He that mindeth reuengemente, is at the nexte doore to manslaughter.

God is moued with nothyng soner, to forgiue vs our offences, then if we for his sake, forgiue one an other.

The requityng of iniuries, hath no ende.

Strife is best ended, through pacience.

Anger

Anger is a madnesse, differyng from it in this poinct onely, that anger is shorte, and tarieth not long, madnesse abideth still.

It is folie to suffre the some of a Horse, or the strikyng of his foote, and not abide any thyng that a foole dooeth, or a noughtie disposed fellowe speaketh.

No man trusteth a dronkarde: and yet seyng the dronkennesse of rage, and madnesse of anger, are moche more daungerous, then surfetyng with wine: he dooeth foolishly, that trusteth his owne witte any thyng: when he is in a rage.

Good deedes should alwaie be remembred, wrong doyng should sone be forgiuen, and sone be forgotten.

Liberalitie commended with heapes of Sentēces.

Again, for liberalitie, these sentences might serue.

It is the propertie of a God, to helpe man.

He hath receiued a good tourne by giuyng, that hath bestowed his liberalitie, vpon a worthie man.

He giueth twise, that giueth sone and chearfully.

God loueth the glad giuer.

It is a poinct of liberalitie, somtyme to lose a good turne.

He that giueth to hym, that will euill vse it, giueth no good thyng, but an euill thyng.

Nothyng is more safely laied vp, then is that, whiche is bestowed vpon good folke.

Be not afraied, to sowe good fruicte.

Nothyng is better giuen to Christ, then is that, which is giuen to the poore.

No one man, is borne for hymself.

He is vnworthie to haue, that hath onely for hymself.

The thirde kinde of amplifiyng is, when we gather soche sentences, as are cōmonly spoken, or els vse to speake of soche thynges, as are notable in this life. Of the firste, these maie bee examples. In lamentyng the miserie of wardshippes, I might saie, it is not for nought, so commonly saied: I will handle you like a warde. She is a steppe mother to me, that is to saie, she is not a naturall mother: who is worse shodde then the shoomakers wife? That is to saie: gentlemennes children, full oft are kept but meanly. Trotte fire, and trotte dame, how should the fole amble, that is, when bothe father and mother were nought, it is not like, that the childe will proue good, without an especiall grace of God.

Prouerbes alledged, help Amplificatiō

Likerishe of tongue, light of taste: that is, he or she that will fare daintely, will oft liue full wantonlie. Sone ripe, sone rotten. Honour chaungeth maners. Enough is as good as a feast. It is an euill Cooke, that can not licke his owne fingers. I will sooner trust myne eye, then mine eare. But what nede I heape all these together, seyng Heiwoodes Proverbes are in Printe, where plentie are to be had: whose paines in that behalfe, are worthie immortall praise.

Things notable or straunge help forward Amplificatiõ

Thinges notable in this life are those, the whiche chance to fewe. As this: To se a man of an hundred yeres of age. A yong childe as sober, as a man of fiftie yeres. A woman that hath had. xxiiij. children. A man ones worthe three or fower thousande pounde, now not worthe a grote. A young man, fairer then any woman. A woman that hath had seuen or eight housebandes. A manne hable to drawe a yarde in his bowe, besides the feathers. A manne merie now, and dedde within half an houre after. There is nonof al these, but serue moche, to make our talke appere vehement, and encrease the weighte of communication. As for example. If one would perswade an olde manne, to contempne the vanities of this worlde, he might vse the examples of sodaine death, and shewe that children haue died, in their mothers lappe, some in their Cradell, some stripynges, some elder, and that not one emong a thousande, cometh to three score yeres. Or be it that some liue an hundred yeres, beyonde the whiche, not one in this laste age passeth, what is there in this life, for the whiche any manne should desire to liue long, seyng that old age, bringeth this onely commoditie with it, that by long liuing, we see many thinges, that we would not see, and that many a manne hath shortened his life, for wearinesse of this wretched worlde. Or what though some pleasures, are to be had in this life, what are thei all, to the pleasures of the life to come? Likewise in speakyng of euill hap, I might bryng hym in, that was ones worthe three thousande pounde, and is not now worthe thre grotes, and perswade men, either to set light by riches, or els to comfort theim, and perswade thē not to take thought, seyng greate harmes haue happened to other heretofore, and tyme maie come, when God will sende better. These sentences aboue rehearsed, being largely amplified, encrease moche, any soche kinde of matter.

What

¶ what is amplificacion.

AMplificacion is a figure in Rhetorique, whiche consisteth moste in augmentyng, and diminishyng of any matter, and that diuers waies.

¶ The deuision of amplificacion.

ALL amplificacion and diminishyng, either is taken out of the substaunce in thynges, or els of wordes. Out of the substaunce and matter, affections are derined: out of wordes, soche kindes of amplificacion, as I will now shewe, and partly haue shewed before, when I spake of the conclusion, or lapping vp of any matter.

The firste kinde of amplificacion is, when by chaungyng a worde, in augmentyng we vse a greater, but in diminishyng, we vse a lesse. Of the firste, this maie be an example. Whe I se one sore beaten, to saie he is slain: to call a naughtie fellowe, thief, or hangman, when he is not knowen to be any soche. To call a woman, that hath made a scape, a common harlot: to call an alehous haunter, a dronkarde: to call one that is troubled with choler, and often angrie, a madde man: to call a pleasaunte gentleman, a railyng iester: to call a couetous man, a Deuill.

Or the latter, these examples shall be: when one hath sore beaten his fellowe, for the same manne to saie, that he hath scant touched hym: When one hath sore wounded an other, to saie that he hurte hym but a little: when one is sore sicke, to be saied, he is a little crased. In like maner also, when we giue vices, the names of vertue: as when I call hym, that is a cruell or mercilesse manne, somewhat sore in iudgemente. When I call a naturall foole, a plaine simple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a faire spoken manne: a glutton, a good fellowe at his table: a spende all, a liberall gentleman: a snudge, or pinche penie, a good housebande, a thriftie man. Diminution.

Now, in all these kindes, where wordes are amplified, thei seme moche greater, if by correccion the sentence be vterde, and greater wordes compared with them, for whom thei are vtterde. In the whiche kinde of speache, wee shall seme as though wee wente vp by staiers, not onely to the toppe of a thynge, but also aboue the toppe. There is an example hereof, in the. vij. accion that Tullie made againste Verres. It is an offence, to binde a Citezein of Rome with Correccion.

chaines,

chaines, it is an hainous deede, to whip him: it is worse then manslaughter, to kill hym, what shall I call it, to hang hym vp vppon a Gibet? If one would commende the authorittie, whiche he alledgeth, he might saie thus. These wordes are no fables, vtterde emong men, but an assured truth, left vnto vs by writyng, and yet not by any common writyng, but by suche, as all the worlde hath confirmed, and agreed vpon, that it is autētique, and canonicall: neither are thei the wordes of one, that is of the common sorte, but thei are the wordes of a doctour, in the churche of God, and yet not the wordes of a deuine, or doctour of the common sort, but of an Apostle: and yet not of one that is the worst, but of Paule, that is the best of all other: and yet not Paules, but rather the wordes of the holy Ghost, speakyng by the mouthe of Paule. He that loueth to enlarge by this kinde, muste marke well the circumstaunces of thynges, and heapyng theim altogether, he shal with ease espy, how one thing riseth aboue an other. And bicause the vse hereof extendeth largely, I will largely vse examples. As thus. If a gentleman, and officer of the kynges, beeyng ouercharged at Supper, with ouermoche drinke, and surfeting with gorge vpon gorge, should vomite the nerte daie in the Parliamente house: I might enueigh thus: O shamefull deede, not onely in sight to be lothed, but also odious of all men to be heard. If thou haddest doen this deede, at thyne owne hous, beyng at Supper with thy wife and children, who would not haue thought it a filthie deede? But now, for thee to doe it in the Parliament hous, emong so many gentlemen, and suche, yea, the beste in all England beyng bothe an officer of the kynges, and a manne of moche authorittie, and there to caste out gobbets (where belchyng were thought greate shame) yea, and suche gobbettes, as none could abide the smelle, and to fill the whole hous, with euill sauour, and thy whole bosome with moche filthinesse, what an abhominable shame is it, aboue al other? it had ben a foule deede of it self, to vomite where no suche gentlemen wer: yea, where no gētlemen wer: yea, where no Englishmē wer: yea, where no men wer: yea, where no cōpanie wer at all: or it had been euill, if he had borne no maner of office, or had been no publique officer, or had not been the kynges officer: but beyng not onely an officer, but a publique officer,

and

and that the kynges officer: yea, and soche a kynges, and doyng soche a deede: I can not tell in the worlde, what to saie to hym. Diuers examples maie be inuented, like vnto this. As thus, againste an hedde officer, in a noble mannes house, I might enueigh thus. Now Lorde, what a man is he, he was not ashamed beyng a gentleman, yea, a man of good yeres, and moche authoritie, and the hedde officer in a dukes house to plaie at Dice in an Alehous with boies, baudes, and verletes. It had been a greate faulte, to plaie at so vile a game, emong soche vile persones, beyng no gentleman, beyng no officer, beyng not of soche yeres: but beyng bothe a man of faire landes, of an auncient house, of greate authoritie, an officer of a duke, yea, and to soche a duke, and a man of soche yeres, that his white heares should warne hym, to auoide al soche folie, to plaie at soche a game, with soche roisters, and soche verlets, yea, and that in soche an hous, as none come thether but thieues, baudes, and ruffians: now before God, I can not speake shame inough of hym.

There is an other kinde of Amplificacion, when vnto the highest, there is added some thyng higher then it is. As thus There is no better preacher emong them all, excepte Hugh Latimer, the father of all preachers. There is no better Latine manne within Englande, excepte Gualter Haddon the Lawier. Again, we amplifie a matter, not ascending by degrees, but speakyng that thyng onely, then the whiche no greater thyng can bee spoken. As thus. Thou haste killed thine owne mother, what shall I saie more, thou hast killed thine owne mother. Thou hast deceiued thy souerain lorde and kyng, what shall I saie more, thou hast deceiued thy soueraine lorde and kyng.

Sometyme wee amplifie by comparyng, and take our ground vpon the weakest and leaste, the whiche if thei seme great, then must that nedes appere great, whiche we would amplifie and increase. As Tullie against Catiline. My seruauntes in good sothe, if thei feared me in soche sorte, as all the citezeins doe feare thee: I would thinke it best for me, to forsake my hous. Thus by vsyng the lesse first, this sentence is increased, fewe seruauntes are compared with all the citezeins, bondmen are compared with free menne: Tullie the maister, is compared with Catiline the traitour, which was neither

neither lorde, nor ruler ouer the citezeins: and Tullies hous is compared with the citee.

By comparyng of examples, wee vse also to encrease our matter. As thus. Did the Maior of London, thrust through Jacke Strawe, beyng but a verlet rebell, and onely disquietyng the citee: and shall the king suffer capitain Kete, to liue in Englandes ground, and enioye the fruictes of his realme, beyng a moste tyrannous Traitour, and suche a rebell, as sought to ouerthrowe the whole realme?

Here is Jacke Strawe, compared with Capitaine Kete, the citee of London, with the whole realme, the Maior with the kyng. So that if he, whiche is a priuate person, and hath no power of death, might punishe with death, the disquietyng of a Citee: the kyng hymself hauyng all power in his hande, maie iustly punishe hym, that seketh to ouerthrowe his whole realme.

The places of Logique, helpe ofte for amplificacion. As, where men haue a wrong opinion, and thinke theft a greater faulte then slaunder, one might proue the contrarie, aswell by circūstaunces, as by argumentes. And first he might shewe, that slaunder is theste, and that euery slaunderer is a thief. For as well the slaunderer, as the thief, doe take awaie an other mannes possession, against the owners will. After that he might shewe, that a slaunderer is worse, then any thief, bicause a good name is better, then all the gooddes in the worlde, and that the losse of money, maie bee recouered, but the losse of a mannes good name, can not be called backe againe, and a thief maie restore that againe, whiche he hath taken awaie, but a slaunderer can not giue a man, his good name again, whiche he hath taken from hym. Again, he that stealeth gooddes or cattell, robbes onely but one manne, but an euill tongued man, infecteth all their mindes: vnto whose eares, this report shall come.

Slaunder, a greater offēce then theft.

Besides this, there are Lawes and remeadies, to subdue thieues: but there is no lawe, against an euill tongue. Again all suche hainous offences, are euer the more greuously punished, the more closely, and more craftely thei are committed. As it is thought a greater faulte, to kille one with poyson, then to kil him with the sweard, and a more hainous offence, to commit murder, then to commit manslaughter: we

maie

maie gather an argument also, from the instrument, or maner of dooyng. As a thiefe hath dooen this offence with his hande, a slaunderer hath dooen it with his tongue. Againe, by the iudgement of all menne, enchauntmente is a notable euill: but thei that infecte a Prince or a kyng, with wicked counsaile, are not thei more wicked enchaunters, consideryng thei dooe as moche, as if one should poison a conduite hedde, or a riuer, from whens all menne fetche their water. And yet thei doe more, for it is a greater fault, to poison the minde, then the bodie. Thus by the places and circumstaunces, greate matter might be made.

By contraries set together, thynges oftentymes appere greater. As if one should set Lukes Veluet, againste Geane Veluet, the Lukes will appere better, and the Geane will seme worser. Or set a faire woman againste a foule, and she shall seme moche the fairer, and the other moche the fouler. Accordyng whereunto, there is a saiyng in Logique: *Contraria inter se opposita magis elucescunt.* That is to saie. Contraries beyng set, the one againste the other, appere more euidente. Therefore, if any one be disposed, to set foorthe Chastitie, he maie bryng in, of the contrary parte, whoredome, and shewe what a foule offence it is, to liue so vncleanly, and then the deformitie of whoredome, shall moche set forthe Chastitie: or if one bee disposed to perswade his fellowe to learnyng, and knowledge, he maie shewe of the contrary, what a naked wretche man is, yea, how moche a man is no man, & the life no life, when learning ones wanteth. The like help we may haue, by comparyng like examples together, either of creatures liuing, or of thinges not liuing: as in speakyng of constauncie, to shewe the Sonne, who euer kepeth one course: in speaking of inconstancie, to shewe the Moone, whiche kepeth no certain course. Againe, in young Storkes, we maie take an example of loue, towardes their damme, for whē she is olde, and not hable for her crooked bill, to picke meate, the yeungones feede her. In young Vipers, there is a contrarie example (for as Plinie saieth) thei eate out their Dammes wombe, and so come foorthe. In Hennes there is a care, to bryng vp their chickens, in Egles the contrary, whiche cast out their egges, if thei haue any moe then three: and all because thei wold not be troubled, with bryngyng vp of many.

Storkes.

Vipers.

There

There is also a notable kinde of amplification, when we would extenuate and make lesse, greate faultes, whiche before we did largely increase: To the ende that other faultes, might seme the greatest aboue all other. As if one had robbed his maister, thrust his fellowe through the arme, accompanied with harlottes, kepte the Tauerne, till he had been as dronke as a Natte: to sale after a large inuective, against all these offences. You haue heard a whole court rolle of ribaudrie, and yet all these are but Flea bitynges, in respect and comparison of that, whiche I shal now shewe you. Who dooeth not looke for a marueilous greate matter, and a moste hainous offence, when those faultes that ar thought moste greuous, are coumpted but Flea bitynges, in respecte and comparison of that, whiche he minderh to rehearse? In like maner, one might exhorte the people to godlinesse, and whereas he hath set forthe, all the commodities that followe thesame, as in shewyng a quiet conscience, not giltie of any greate fault, the libertie of spirit, the peace whiche we haue with God, the felowshyp with all the electe, for the seruaunt of Sathan, to be the sonne of God, the coumfort of the soule, the greatnesse whereof, no man is hable to conceiue: to sale at length, and what can be greater, what can be more excellente, or more blessfull? And yet all these are small matters, if thei be compared with the blessed inheritaunce, of the euerliuyng GOD, prepared for all those that liue Godlie, here vpon yearth, fastnyng their whole trust vpon Christ aboue, whiche bothe is hable, and will saue all those, that call vnto hym with faithe. We dooe increase our cause, by reasonyng the matter, and callyng our accoumpt, when either by thinges that followe, or by thinges that go before, or els by soche thynges, as are annexed with the matter, we giue sentence how great the thyng is. By thynges goyng before, I iudge when I se an enuious, or hastie man, fight with an other as hastie, that there is like to be bloodshed. As who should sale, can enuious, or hastie men match together, but that thei must neades trie the matter with bloodshedyng. Assuredly, it can not bee otherwise, but that blood muste appease their rage. Likewise, seyng twoo wisemen earnestly talkyng together, I can not otherwise iudge, but that their talke muste nedes be wittie, and concerne some weightie matter. For, to what ende

ende should wise menne ioyne, or wherefore should thei laie their heddes together, if it were not for some earneste cause? What a shame is it for a strong man, of moche healthe, and greate manhode, to bee ouercome with a cuppe of drynke. From thynges ioyned with the cause, thus. A woman hauyng her housebande emprisoned, and in daunger of death, sodainly step before the kyng, and craued his pardon. Bolde was that woman, whiche durst aduenture to knele before a king, whose housebande had so greuously offended. Though women by nature are fearefull, yet in her appered a manlie stomack, and a good bolde harte, yea, euen in greatest daunger. By thynges that followe, thus. All Englande lamente the death of Duke Henry, and Duke Charles, twoo noble brethren of the house of Suffolke. Then maie we wel iudge that these twoo gentlemen, were wonderfully beloued, whē thei bothe were so lamented.

There is a kinde of amplifiyng, when in speaking of two that fought together, wee praise hym moche, that hadde the worse, bicause we would the other, to haue more praise. Cōsideryng for a man to beate a boie, it were no praise, but for a talle man, to matche with an other, that were as talle as hym self: that were somewhat worthe. Therefore, I would haue the Scottes well praised, whom the Englishmen haue so often vanquished. He that praiseth moche the strong hold of Boleine, muste needes thereby, praise Kyng Henrie the eight of Englande, who by Marciall power, wonne it, and kepte it all his life tyme. Or thus. Soche a one kepes a marueilous good house, for the worste boie in his hous, drinkes one and thesame drinke with his maister, and all one bread, yea, euery one hath his meate in siluer, chamber vessels, and al are of siluer. We iudge by apparell, by armour, or by harneis, what a man is of stature, or biggenesse. We iudge by occasion, the goodnesse of menne, as when thei might haue dooen harme, thei would not, when thei might haue slaine, thei sought rather to saue. From the place where one is, encrease maie be gathered. As thus. Beyng euen in the courte he was neuer moued to gammyng, beyng at Rome, he hated harlottes, where there is by report, so greate plentie, as there are starres in the element.

From the tyme thus, he muste nedes bee well learned, in

the Lawes of our realme, that hath been a ſtudent this thirtie Winter.

From the age: aſſuredly, he is like to bee good, for beyng but a childe he was euer moſte godlie.

From the ſtate of life: no doubte but he is honeſte, for beyng but a ſeruaunte, he liued ſo vprightly, as none could iuſtlie blame his life.

From the hardeneſſe of a thyng. That whiche is almoſte onely proper to Angels, muſt nedes be harde for man: therefore, chaſtitie is a rare gift, and harde for man to kepe.

From the ſtraightneſſe of a thing. Eloquence muſt nedes be a wonderfull thyng, when ſo fewe haue attained it.

Likewiſe, notable aduentures dooen by a fewe, are more praiſe worthie, then ſoche as haue been doone, by a greate nomber. Therefore, the battaill of Muſkelborowe, againſte the Scottes, where ſo fewe Engliſhmen were ſlaine, and ſo many Scottes diſpatched: muſt nedes be more praiſe worthy then if the nomber of Engliſhemen, had been greater.

Vehemencie of woordes, full often helpe the matter forwardes, when more is gathered by cogitation, then if the thyng had been ſpoken in plaine woordes. When we heare one ſaie, ſoche a manne ſwelled, ſeyng a thyng againſte his minde, we gather, that he was then, more then halfe angrie. Again, when we heare one ſaie, ſoche a woman ſpittes fire, we gather ſtraight, that ſhe is a deuill. The Preacher thunderde in the Pulpite, belike then he was metely hotte. But concernyng all ſoche ſpeaches, the knowledge of a Metaphore, ſhall bryng menne to moche knowledge (whereof I will ſpeake hereafter, emong the figures (and therefore, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of it in this place.

We encreaſe our cauſe, by heapyng of woordes and ſentences together, couchyng many reaſons into one comer, whiche before were ſcaterde abroade, to the intent that our talke, might appere more vehement. As when by many conjectures and greate preſumpcions, we gather that one is an offendour, heaping them all into one plumpe, whiche before were ſparpled abroade, and therefore, did but little good. As thus: to proue by coniequres, a murder committed, I might thus ſaie, againſte a ſuſpected perſone. My Lordes, dooe not weye my woordes and ſentences ſeuerally, but conſider them altogether.

Amplificatiō. by cōiectures

altogether. If the accused persone here, shall receiue profite, by this other mannes death, if his life heretofore hath euer been euill, his nature couetous, his wealthe moste slender, and that this dedde mannes goodes, could tourne to no mãnes auaile so moche, as vnto this accused persone, and that no man could so easely dispatche hym, and that this manne could by no better meanes compasse his desire, and that nothing hath been vnattẽpted, which might further his naughtie purpose, and nothyng doen, that was thought nedelesse, and seyng a mete place, was chiefly sought for, and occasion serued verie well, and the tyme was moste apte, for soche an attempte, and many meanes heretofore deuised, to compasse this offence, and greate hope, bothe to kepe it close, and also to dispatche it, and besides that, seyng this man was seen alone, a little before in thesame place, where this other man was slaine, and that this mannes voice, whiche did slae hym was heard a little before in thesame place, where this other man was slaine, and seyng it is well knowen, that this man came home late thesame night, and the nexte daie after, beyng examined, did aunswere confusedly, fearfully, and as though he were amased, and seeyng all these thynges, are partly shewed by witnesses, partly by good reason, partly by his owne confession, and partly by the report, that commonly goeth of hym, whiche by like is not spoken, without some grounde: It shall bee your partes, worthie Iudges, weiyng all these thinges together, to giue certain iudgement of him for this offence, and not to thinke it a matter of suspicion. For, it might haue been, that three or fower of these coniectures beyng proued, might giue but onely a cause of suspicion, but wheras all these together, are plainly proued by him it can not be otherwise, but that he hath offended.

It is an excellent kinde of amplifiyng, when thynges encreased, and thynges diminished, are bothe set together, that the one maie the rather, beautifie the other. As if, when Gods goodnesse towardes vs, wer largely amplified, we did straight extenuate our vnthãkfulnesse towardes him again. As thus: Seyng God hath made manne a creature, vnto his owne likenesse, seeyng he hath giuen hym life, and the Spirite of vnderstandyng, endewyng hym with his manifolde graces, and redemyng hym, not with vile money, but with

his owne precious bodie, suffryng death, and bloodshedyng vpon the crosse, the rather that manne might liue for euer: what an vnthankfull part is it, yea, what an hainous thing it is, for man so oft to offende, so ofte to wallowe in soche his wickednesse, and euermore for Gods louyng kindnesse, to shewe hymself of all other creatures, most vnkinde.

Likewise, contraries beyng rehearsed, and the euill immediatlie vttered after the good, make moche for encrease. As many men now a dates for sobrietie, follow glottonie, for chastitie, take lecherie, for truthe, like falshode, for gentlenesse, seke crueltie, for iustice, vse wrong dealing, for heauen, helle, for God, the Deuill: to whom thei will without peraduenture, if Gods grace be not greater.

Of mouyng affections.

Affections mouyng.

Because the beautie of amplifiyng, standeth moste in apte mouyng of affections: It is nedefull to speake some what in this behalfe, that the better it maie bee knowen what thei are, and how thei maie bee vsed. Affections therefore (called Passions) are none other thyng, but a stirryng or forcyng of the mynde, either to desire, or els to detest, and lothe any thyng, more behementlie, then by nature we are commonly wonte to doo. We desire those thynges, we loue theim, and like theim earnestly, that appere in our iudgement to be goodlie, we hate and abhorre those thynges, that seme naught, vngodlie, or harmefull vnto vs. Neither onely are we moued with those thynges, whiche we thinke either hurtfull, or profitable for our selues, but also wee reioyce, wee sorie, or wee pitie an other mannes happe.

And euermore there are twoo thynges, whiche moue vs either this waie, or that waie. The matter self whiche doeth happen, or is like to happen: and the persone also, whom the matter doeth concerne. As for example: If a wicked wretche haue his desertes, we are all glad to heare it, but if an innocent should be caste awaie, we thinke moche of it, and in stomacke repine against wrong iudgemēt. If an euill man finde moche fauour, we enuie his good happe, yea, it greeueth vs, that any soche, should haue soche fauour shewed: and not onely doee we hate the euill, that are come to any wealthe, but

also

alſo we enuie commonly, all ſoche as come to any preferre-
ment, eſpecially, if either thei haue been, as poore menne as
we are, or els came of a meaner hous, then we haue dooen.
No one manne, would haue any to bee better then hymſelf,
and euery one enableth his owne gooddes, to deſerue like
dignitie with the beſte. And whereas ſome haue got before,
ſtartyng ſodainly, from an inche to an Elle, wee ſpare not
to ſaie, that flatterie made them ſpede, and though thei haue
moche goodes, yet are thei cleare voyde of all goodneſſe, and
therefore moche good maie it doe them, we would not come
by gooddes in ſoche ſorte, to winne all the worlde. For the
Deuill and thei (ſaie wee) ſhall parte ſtakes with theim, one
daie. And thus we can neuer be content, to giue our neigh-
bour a good worde. Yea, though thei haue ſerued right well
and deſerued a greate rewarde, we muſte needes finde ſome
fault with them, to leſſen their praiſes, and ſaie that though
their deſertes be greate, yet their natures are nought: none
ſo proude, though fewe be ſo hardy, none ſo enuious, though
fewe ſo faithfull: none ſo couetous, though fewe ſo liberall:
none ſo glotonous, though fewe keepe ſoche an houſe. And
thus, though we graunt theim one thyng, yet we will take
an other thyng, as faſte again from theim.

Soche a manne is an excellent fellowe (ſaieth one) he can ſpeake the toungues well, he plaies of Inſtrumentes, fewe menne better, he feigneth to the Lute, marueilous ſweetelie, he endites excellentlie, but for all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, he will bee dronke ones a daie, he loues women well, he will ſpende Goddes Coope, if he had it, he will not tary longe in one place, and he is ſomewhat large of his toungue. That if theſe faultes were not, ſuerely he were an excellent fellowe. Euen as one ſhould ſaie: if it wer not forſlyng and ſtealyng, there were not an honeſter man, then ſoche a one is, that perchaunce hath ſome one good qualitie, to ſette hym forwarde. Theſe buttes bee to broade, and theſe barres be ouer biggue, for looke what is giuen to one by commendyng, theſame is ſtraighte taken awaie by butting. Therefore, ſoche are not to be liked, that giue a manne a Shoulder of Mutton, and breake his hedde with the ſpitte, when thei haue dooen. And yet, this is many a mannes nature, eſpecially, where enuie hath any grounded dwellyng

with praiſyng: diſpraiſyng vſed.

place, whose property is alwaies to speake, nothyng of other, without reproche and slaunder.

In mouyng affections, and stirryng the Iudges to bee greued, the waight of the matter, must be so sette forthe, as though thei sawe it plaine before their yes, the report must be soche, and the offence made so hainous, that the like hath not been seen heretofore, and all the circumstaunces muste thus bee heaped together: The naughtinesse of his nature, that did the deede, the cruell orderyng, the wicked dealyng, and malicious handelyng, the tyme, the place, the maner of his dooyng, and the wickednesse of his wille, to haue dooen more. The manne that sustained the wrong, howe little he deserued, how well he was estemed, emong his neighbours, how small cause he gaue hym, how greate lacke, men haue of hym. Now, if this bee not reformed, no good manne shall liue saufe, the wicked will ouerflowe all the worlde, and best it were for saufegarde, to bee nought also, and to take parte with theim, for no good manne shall goe quiete for theim, if there bee not spedie redresse founde, and this fault punished to the example of all other.

Description of an euil and wicked offece doen.

Quintilian coucheth together, in these fewe wordes, the full heape of soche an hainous matter, by gatheryng it by after this sorte.

- i. What is doen.
- ii. By whom.
- iii. Against whom.
- iiii. Upon what minde.
- v. At what tyme.
- vi. In what place.
- vii. After what sorte.
- viii. How moche he would haue doen.

What is doen

If one bee beaten blacke and blewe, wee take it greuously: But if one bee slaine, wee are moche

By whom.

more troubled. Againe, if a slaue or ruffine shall doo soche a deede, we are displeased: but if an officer, a Preacher, or an hedde gentleman, should vse any slauerie, we are moche more agreued. Yea, or if a verie notable euill manne, committed soche an horrible offence, wee

Against who

thinke hym worthie, to haue the lesse fauour. If a sturdie fe-

lowe

lowe be stroken, we are not so mocke disquieted, as if a child a woman, an aged man, a good man, or a chief officer, should be euill vsed. If the offence bee committed, vpon a prepensed mynde, and wilfully, we make mocke more a doo, then if it were dooen by chaunce medlie. If it bee dooen vpon an holie daie, or els vpon the daie of Assise, or vpon the daie of a kynges coronacion, or aboute sochе a solempne tyme, or if it bee doen in the night, rather then at noone daies, wee make the matter greater, then if it had been doen at an other tyme. In the courte if one strike a manne, it is thought greater, then if he should strike him in the open streate. The maner of doyng also, doee mocke moue the pacience of menne, as if one should cowardly kille one, and strike hym sodainly, he were worthie greater blame, then if he should manfully set vpon hym: or if one kille his fellowe, secretly with a Gunne, he wer worthie more hatred, then if he killed him with a sword or he wounded hym sore, or cruelly mangeled hym, wee crie out mocke more, then if he had barely killed hym. And lasse of all, if his will had been, to haue doen mocke more then he did: we encrease our anger againste his rage mocke more, then euer we would els haue doen.

Upon what mynde.

At what tyme.

In what place.

After what sorte.

How mocke he would.

¶ Of mouyng pitie.

NOw in mouyng pitie, and stirryng menne to mercie, the wrong doen, moste firste be plainly tolde: or if the Iudges haue sustained the like extremitie, the beste were to will theim, to remember their owne state, how thei haue been abused in like maner, what wronges thei haue suffered by wicked doers: that by hearyng their owne, thei maie the better harken to others.

Again, whereas all other miseries, that befall vnto man, are greuous to the eare, there is nothyng more hainous, then to heare, that the moste honest men, are soneste ouerthrowen, by them that are moste wicked, and vertue put to flight through the onely might of vice. That if the like hath not happened, vnto the hearers of this cause, yet it were mete to shewe theim that the like maie happen, and so require thē to giue iudgemente in this cause, as thei would dooe in their owne, and remember that harme maie chaunce to euery one that perhappes chaunceth to any one. And no doubte, euery man remembryng hymself, and his owne case, will loke well

about hym, and giue iudgement, accordyng to right.

Neither can any good be doen at all, when we haue saied all that euer we can, except we bryng thesame affeccions, in our owne harte, the whiche wee would, the Judges should beare towardes our own matter. For how can he be greued with the report of any hainous acte, either in stomakyng the naughtinesse of the dede, or in bewailing the miserable misfortune of the thing, or in fearing moche, the like euill hereafter: excepte the Oratour hymself, vtter soche passions outwardly, and from his harte fetche his complaintes, in soche sort, that the matter maie appere, bothe more greuous to the eare, and therewith so hainous, that it requires earnestly, a spedie reformacion? There is no substance of it self, that wil take fire, except ye put fire to it. Likewise, no mannes nature is so apt, straight to be heated, except the Oratour hymself, be on fire, and bring his heate with him. It is a common saiyng, nothing kindleth soner then fire. And therefore a fierie stomacke, causeth euermore a fierie tong. And he that is heated with zeale and godlinesse, shall set other on fire with like affeccion. No one man can better enueigh against vice, then he can doe, whiche hateth vice with all his harte. Again, nothing moisteth soner then water. Therefore, a wepyng iye causeth moche moisture, and prouoketh teares. Neither is it any maruaile, for soche men, bothe in their countenaunce, tongue, iyes, gesture, and in al their body els, declare an outward grief, and with wordes so vehemently and vnfainedly settes it forward, that thei will force a man, to bee sory with them, and take part with their teares, euen against his wil. Notwithstanding, when soche affeccions are moued, it wer good, not to stande long in theim. For though a vehemente talke maie moue teares, yet no arte can long hold them. For as Cicero doeth saie, nothing drieth soner, then teares, especially when we lament an other mannes cause, and be sorie with him for his sake.

He that will stirre affeccions to other, muste first be moued hymself.

Heate, causeth heate.

A weping iye prouoketh moysture.

But now that I haue taught menne to be sory, I will attempt againe, to make them merie, and shewe what learned men saie, concerning laughter, in delityng the hearers, whē tyme and place shall best require.

¶ Of delityng the hearers, and stirryng theim to laughter.

Consideryng

Considering the dulnesse of mannes nature, that neither it can bee attentiue to heare, nor yet stirred to like or alowe, any tale long tolde, excepte it bee refreashed, or finde some sweete delite: the learned haue by witte and labour, deuised moch varietie. Therefore, sometymes in tellyng a waightie matter, thei byng in some beauie tale, and moue theim to bee right sory, whereby the hearers are more attentiue. But after, when thei are wearied, either with tediousnesse of the matter, or beautnesse of the report: some pleasaunte matter is inuented, bothe to quicken theim againe, and also to kepe theim from satietie. But surely fewe there bee, that haue this gifte, in due time to cheare menne. Neither can any doe it, whom Nature hath not framed, and giuen an aptnesse thereunto. Laughter mouyng.

Some mannes countenaunce will make pastime, though he speake neuer a woorde. Yea, a foolishe woorde vttered by an apte manne, or a gesture straungely vsed, by some pleasaunt bodie, settes men full oft vpon a laughter. And whereas some thinke it a trifle, to haue this gifte, and so easie, that euery barlet or common iesture, is hable to matche with the beste: yet it appereth that thei, whiche vtterlie can bee pleasaunte, and when time serueth, can giue a merie aunswere, or vse a nipping taunte, shalbe hable to abashe, a right worthie manne, and make hym at his wittes ende, thorough the sodaine quip, and vnlooked frumpe giuen. I haue knowen some so bitte of the thumbes, that thei could not tell in the world, whether it wer best to fight, chide, or to go their way. And no marualle: for where the iest is aptly applied, the hearers laugh immediatlie, and who would gladly bee laughed to scorne? Some can pretelie, by a woorde spoken, take occasion to bee right merie.

Other can iette at large, and tell a rounde tale pleasauntly, though thei haue none occasion, at that tyme giuen. But assuredly, that mirthe is more worthe, whiche is moued by a woorde newlie spoken, then if a longe tale, should pleasauntly be tolde. For as moche, as bothe it cometh vnlooked for, and also declares a quickneesse of wittte, worthie commendation. There are fiue thinges, whiche Tullie noteth, concernyng pleasaunt talke.

i. What it is to delite the hearers.
ii. Whereof it cometh.
iii. Whether an Orator maie moue laughter.
iiii. How largely he maie goe, and what measure he must vse.
v. What are the kindes of sporting, or mouyng to laughter.

NOw to tell you in plain woordes, what laughter is, how it stirreth and occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenaunce, and sodainly brasteth out that we cā not kepe it in: let some merie man on Gods name take this matter in hande. For it passeth my cunnyng, and I thinke euen thei, that can best moue laughter, would rather laugh merilie, when soche a question is put forth, then giue aunswere earnestlie, what, and how laughter is in deede.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that maketh vs merie (whiche is the seconde obseruacion) is the fondnes, the filthines, the deformitie, and all soche euill behauiour, as we see to bee in other. For we laugh alwaies at those thynges, whiche either onely or chiefly touche handsomely, and wittely, some especiall fault, or fonde behauior in some one body, or some one thing. Somtimes we iest at a mānes bodie, that is not well proporcioned, and laugh at his countenaunce, if either it be not comely by nature, or els he through folie, can not well set it. For if his talke be fond, a merie man can wāt no matter to hit him home, ye maie be assured. Some ieste is made, whē it toucheth no man at all, neither the demaunder neither the standers by, nor yet any other, and yet deliteth as moche the hearers, as any the other can doe. Now when we would abashe a man, for some wordes that he hath sponken, and can take none aduauntage of his persone, or makyng of his bodie, we either doult him at the first, and make hym beleue, that he is no wiser then a Goose: or els we cōfute wholy his saiynges, with some pleasaunt ieste, or els we extenuate and diminishe his doinges, by some pretie meanes, or els we cast the like in his dishe, and with some other deuise, dash him out of countenance: or last of al, we laugh him to scorne out right, and sometimes speake almoste neuer a worde, but onely in countenance, shewe our selues pleasaunt. But how soeuer we make sport, either the delite is vttered by countenaunce,

Mirthe how many waies it is moued.

nance, or by poincting to some thyng, or els shewed at large by some tale, or els occasion taken by some worde spoken.

The third question is, whether it standeth with an Orators profession, to delite the hearers with pleasaunt reportes, and wittie saynges, or no. Assuredly it behoueth a man, that must talke moche, euermore to haue regard to his audience, and not onely to speake so moche as is nedefull, but also to speake no longer, then thei bee willyng to heare. Euen in this our tyme, some offende moche in tediousnesse, whose part it wer, to comfort all men with cherefulnesse. Yea, the Preachers of God, mynde so muche edefyng of soules, that thei often forget, we haue any bodies. And therfore, some do not so moche good, with tellyng the truth, as thei doe harme with dullyng the hearers, beyng so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes thei can not tel, when to make an ende. Preachers.

Plato therefore, the father of learnyng, and the Welle of all wisedome, when he heard Antisthenes, make soche a longe oracion, that he starke wearied al his hearers, phy for shame man (q he) doest thou not knowe, that the measuryng of an oracion, standeth not in the speaker, but in the hearers. But some perhaps will saie vnto me, *Pacite quantum in vobis est*, to whom I aunswere, *estote prudentes*. And now bicause our senses bee soche, that in hearyng a right wholsome matter, we either fall a slepe, when we should mooste harken, or els are wearied, with still hearing one thyng, without any change, and thinke that the beste part of his tale, resteth in makyng an ende: the wittie and learned, haue vsed delitefull saynges, and quicke sentences, euer emong their waightie causes, considerynge that not onely good will is got thereby (for what is he that loueth not mirth?) but also men wounder at soche a hedde, as hath mennes hartes at his commaundmēt, beyng hable to make theim merie when he liste, and that by one worde speaking, either in aunswering, some thing spoken before, or els oftentimes, in giuyng the onset, being not prouoked thereunto. Again, we se that men are full oft abashed, and put out of countenance, by soche taunting meanes, and those that haue so doen, are compted to be fine men, and pleasaunt felowes, soche, as fewe dare set foote with theim. Platoes saiyng to Antisthenes. 1. Peter. 5. Math. 10.

Thus knowyng, that to moue sport, is lawfull for an Orator, or any one that shall talke, in any open assembly: good it

it wer to knowe, what compasse he should kepe, that should thus be merie. For feare he take to moche grounde, and goe beyond his boundes. Therefore, no soche should be taunted, or iested withall, that either are notable euil liuers, and hainous offendors: or els are pitifull caitifes, and wretched beggers. For euery one, thinketh it a better and a meter dede, to punishe noughtie packes, then to scoffe at their euill demeanour: and as for wretched soules, or poore bodies, none can beare to haue thē mocked, but thinke rather, that thei should bee pitied, excepte thei foolishly vaunt them selues. Againe, none soche should be made any laughing stockes, that either are honeste of behauiour, or els are generally well beloued. As for other, we maie be bold to talke with them, and make soche game and pastime, as their good wittes shal giue good cause. But yet this one thing, we had nede euer to take with vs, that in all our iestyng, we keepe a meane, wherein not onely it is mete, to auoide all grosse bourdyng, and alehous iestyng, but also to eschue all foolishe talke, and Ruffin maners, soche as no honeste eares can ones abide, nor yet any wittie man can like well, or allowe.

Iestyng whē it should bee spared.

¶ The deuision of pleasaunt behauiour.

Mirthe makyng, twoo waies vsed.

Pleasauntnesse, either appereth in tellyng a rounde tale, or els in takyng occasiō of some one worde. The matter is tolde pleasauntly, when some mannes nature (whereof the tale is tolde) is so sette foorthe, his countenance so counterfeicted, and all his iesture so resembled, that the hearers might iudge the thyng, to be then liuely dooen, euen as though he were there, whereof the tale was tolde. Some can so liuely set forthe an other mannes nature, and with soche grace report a tale: that fewe shalbe hable to forbeare laughter, whiche knowe bothe parties, though thei would the contrary neuer so fain. Now in counterfecting after this sort, if soche moderacion be not vsed, that the hearer maie iudge more by hymself, then the pleasaunt disposed mā is willyng fullie to set forthe: it will not be well liked. For, he that excedeth & telleth al: yea, more then is nedefull, with out all respecte, or consideracion had: thesame shall be taken for a common iester, soche as knowe not, how to make an ende, when thei ones begin, beyng better acquainted with bible bable, then knowyng the fruicte of wisedomes lore.

Pleasauntnesse

Pleasauntnesse in a saiyng, is stirred by the quicke alteryng of some one woorde, or of some one sentence. But euen as in reportyng a tale, or counterfeitying a manne, to mocke is euer naught: So scurrilitie or (to speake in old plain Englishe) knauerie in iestyng, would not bee vsed, where honestie is estemed. Therefore, though there bee some witte, in a prettie deuised ieste: yet we ought to take hede, that we touch not those, whom we would bee moste lothe to offende. And yet some had as leue lose their life, as not bestowe their conceiued ieste, and oftentymes thei haue, as thei desire. But shall I saie of suche wilfull men, as a Spaniarde spake of an earnest Gospeller, that for woordes spoken, againste an Ecclesiasticall lawe, suffered death in Smithfield: *Ah miser, non potui tacere et viuere?* Ah wretch that he was, could he not liue and holde his peace. Pleasantnes in a saiyng.

Againe, to ieste when occasion is giuen, or when the ieste may touch al men: it is thought to be against al good maner Therefore, the consideracion of time, and moderacion of pastime, & seldome vsing of drie mockes, euen when nede moste requireth, make a difference, and shewe a seuerall vnderstandyng, betwirt a common iester, and a pleasaunt wise man. Difference betwixt a cõmon iester, and a pleasaunt wiseman.

Now the tyme requireth, to shewe what kindes there are of mouing laughter, and makyng the harte to be mery: notwithstandyng, this would first be learned, that out of diuers pleasaunt speaches, auncient saiynges also maie be gathered. As for example, we maie by one woorde, bothe praise a faithfull seruaunt, and if he be naught, we maie also ieste of hym, and praise him. Accordyng to that merie saiyng of Nero, vpon his man that was light fingred. I haue one at home (q he) emong all other, to whom there is no coffer lockt, nor dooze shutte in all my hous, meanyng that he was a picke locke, and a false berlet, and yet these woordes might haue been spoken of a faithfull seruaunt.

We shall delite the hearers, when thei looke for one answere, and we make theim a cleane contrary, as though we would not seme to vnderstande, what thei would haue. As one Pontidius beyng sore greued, that an other manne had committed aduoutrie, came to a frende of his, and saied sadly: Ah Lorde, what thinke you sir of hym, that was taken in bedde of late, with an other mannes wife? Parie q the other Pleasant answeres made contrarie to our looking, delite vs moche.

I thinke hym to bee a very sluggarde. Pontidius hearyng hym saie so, was abashed, at the straungenesse of his answere, and lookyng for no suche thyng, was driuen to laugh at his owne errour, although before, he was moche greued, with the aduouterers moste wicked deede.

One beyng sore greued, with the euill behauiour of a certain gentleman, spake his pleasure largely against hym, whereupon an other merie manne, dissemblyng to take his part, saied, he was an honester manne then so. Yea (q the other) what one thyng hath he, whereby to proue hymself honest at all? Marie (q the man) he hath the kynges Pardone, and what saie you to that?

Diogenes. When is it best to dine (q one) to Diogenes? Marie, q he, for a riche man, when he liste: for a poore man, when he can.

A noble man, that whilome kept a chapell, being disposed to serue God, went to his closet deuoutly, and made hymself redy to praie, whereupon one came doune in hast, and saied to the chaunter, you must begin sir. The Chaunter beyng a merie man, aunswered thus, as though he were angrie. Begin q he? I will begin with none, except thei begin with me. And so made the whole quier, that then was redy for singing to fall straighte a laughyng. The whiche is all one, for syng we, or laugh we, what maketh matter, so we be merie?

An Abbate in Italie, being grosse of his body, and vnweldie to behold, walkyng out of Florence for his pleasure, and hauyng farther trauailde towardes the Euenyng, then he thought hymself well hable to retourne, before the gates of the citie were shutte: met a countrie manne commyng from thens, and bicause it was somewhat late, asked hym, if he might gette in at the gates: the housebande man, seyng this fatte Abbate, lookyng for a redy aunswere, and lothe to lose any tyme, for feare he should be kepte out, saied pleasauntly to the deuoute religious fat prieste: Sir, be not afraied, for a carte loden with Hate, maie easely get in at any gate in Florence, and therfore you nede not to doubt, although you wer as bigge againe, whereas the Abbates meanyng was, if he might come in tyme, before the gates were lockt.

A frende of myne, and a good fellowe, more honeste then wealthie, yea, and more pleasaunt then thriftie, hauing nede of a nagge, for his iourney that he had in hand, and being in

the

the countrie, minded to go to Partnaie faire in Lincolnshire not farre from the place, where he then laie, and metyng by the waie one of his acquaintaunce, told him his arraude, and asked him, how horses went at the faire. The other aunswered merelie, and said, some trotte sir, and some amble, as far as I can see. If their pases bee altered, I praie you tell me at our nerte metyng. And so ridde awaie, as faste as his horse could carye him, without saiyng any worde more, wherat he there beyng alone, fell a laughyng hartely to hymself, and loked after a good while, vntill the other was out of sight.

A gentleman, hauyng heard a sermon at Poules, and being come home, was asked what the preacher saied. The gentleman aunswered, he would first heare what his man could saie, who then waited vpon him, with his hatte and cloke, & calling his mā to him, said, now sir, what haue you brought from the Sermon. Forsoth good maister, saied the seruaunt your cloke and your hatte. An honest true dealyng seruaunt out of doubt, plaine as a packesaddell, hauyng a better soule to God, though his witte was simple, then those haue, that vnder the colour of hearing, giue themselues to priuie picking and so bryng other mennes purses home in their bosomes, in the stede of other mennes Sermons.

In the tyme of Pope Julie the seconde, or Alexander the first, I doe not well remember (but either of them both maie serue well for this purpose, beyng bothe warriers, as what Pope is not) it so happened that a Cardinall of Spaine, hauing charge vnder the Pope, of an armie, and seyng it necessarie, to trie the fortune of battaile, againste the enemies of the Popes holinesse, valiauntly encouraged those soldiours, to shewe them selues like men, assuring to them that would hassarde their liues, in that conflicte, not onely to haue fulle pardone of their synnes, but also that thei should that morryng, goe dine with God and his Angelles in heauen. And when he had thus saied, he withdrewe himself from the battaile. Vnto whom a soldiour saied, that was nigh at hande. Right reuerende father, how happeneth your grace, dooeth not whitesaue to tary with vs, that you might also goe dine this morryng, with God and his Angelles. Holde thy peace knaue (q the Cardinall) I haue no liste to eate now, it is to earely for me, my stomacke is not yet come to me.

Wordes

Woordes doubtfully spoken, giue often iuste occasion of moche laughter. Ah (q a certain man) do you se yõder felow, and do you knowe him? Yea (q the other) I knowe him very well. I shall tel you sir (said the gentleman) there is not a mã of greater vnderstanding within this citie, then he is. Truly it is not so (q he.) Nor (said the other) marke well the bought of his legge, and you shall se his vnderstandyng, worthie to be compared with the beste, and greatest of them all.

Chaungyng of a letter, or alteryng part of a woorde, or addyng a syllable.

Sometymes it is well liked, when by the chaungyng of a letter, or taking awaie some part of a woorde, or adding somtymes a syllable, we make an other meanyng. As one saied, that meante full vnhappelie, enueighyng against those that helde of Christes spirituall beyng in the Sacramente: some (q he) will haue a Trope to be in these woordes: This is my bodie: but surely I would wisshe the T. were taken awaie, and that thei had for their labour, whiche is left behinde.

A gentleman, beyng handfasted to a gentlewoman, and suer to her, as he thought: afterwardes lost her, beyng made faster to an other man, then euer she was to him. Wherupõ he tooke greate displeasure, and sought by lawe to win her, notwithstanding, she had carnally been acquainted with the other gentleman. A noble manne beyng earnestly desired of hym, that had first lost her, to helpe him to her again: I marualle (q the noble man) what you meane to be so earneste, to recouer her, whom an other man, haue alredy couerde. If I were in your case, she should goe for me, and he should haue her, that hath thus before hande sealed vpon her. The gentleman discouraged vpon this aunswere, departed with an vnquieted minde, and thought notwithstanding, to be euen with the woman, if he could tel possible how, or which waie.

What carp you maister person (q a gentleman) to a preest that had his woman on horsback behinde him, haue you got your male behinde you? No sir (q the preest) it is my female.

Interpretatiõ of a woord.

The interpretation of a woorde, doeth oft declare a witte. As when one hath doen a robberie, some will saie, it is pitie he was a handsome man, to the whiche an other made aunswere, you saie truthe sir, for he hath made these shiftes by his handes, and gotte his liuyng with light fingeryng, and therefore, being handsome as you saie he is, I would God he were handsomely hanged.

Some,

Sometimes it is delitefull, when a mannes worde is taken, and not his meaninge. As when one had saied to another (whose helpe he muste needes haue) I am sorie sir to put you to paines: the other answered, I will ease you sir of that sorowe, for I will take no paines for you at all. Wordes take and not the meaning.

The tournyng of a worde, and denyng that wherewith we are charged, and answeryng a mocke wordle, doeth often moue the hearer. There was one Bassus, as Quintilia doeth tell, whiche seyng a Ladie called Domitia, to be verie nigh her self, spake his pleasure of her. Wherupō she being greued, charged hym with these wordes, that he should saie she was sochc a pinche penie, as would sell her olde showes for money, wherupō he answered: no forsoth madame, q he, I saied not so, but these were my wordes, I said you bought old showes, sochc as you could get beste cheape for money. In aunswere from cupll to worse. Snudgynge wittely rebuked.

The Hollanders wordes are worthye rehearsall, who beynge a pore man, as Erasmus telleth the tale, had a cow or two goyng in the commons, wherupon it happened that an Ore of a riche mans, who then was Maior of the towne hadde gored the pore mannes cowe, and almoste kylled her. The pore man being in this case halfe vndon, thought notwithstandyng by a wittie deuise to get right iudgement of maister Maior for the losse of his cowe, if he gotte nothynge els and therefore thus he framed his tale. Sir, so it is that my cowe hath gored and almoste kylled your Ore. What hath she, quod he, by sainte Marye thou shalte pay for hym then. Nay, quod the pore man, I crye you mercye, youre Ore hathe gored my cowe. Ah, quod the Maior, that is an other matter, we will talke of that herafter at more leasure. A wittie diuised tale to get right iudgement.

These wordes were spoken of purpose, but now you shal heare what an olde woman spake of simplicitie. In the doting worlde, when stockes were saintes, and dumme walles spake, this olde grandamme was deuoutelye kneling vpon her knees before the ymage of our Ladye. Wherupō a merye felowe asked her what she meante to crouche & knele there. Marie, quod the olde mother, I praye to our Ladye, that she maye praye to her Sonne for me: with that he laughed at her ignorance. Wherupon she thinkinge that her wordes were spoken amisse, corrected her owne saiynge in this wise. Nate, quod she, I praye to Christe in heauen, A beldames blind answer.

that he will praie for me to this good Ladie here.

Wordes ouerthwartly answered.

Wordes rehersed contrary to that, whiche was spoken, (as a man would saie) ouerthwartly answered, do moche abashe thopponent, and delite the hearers. As when Sergius Galba being sicke, & therefore keping his hous, had appointed certain of his frendes, to hear a matter of one Libo Scribonius, Tribune of the people, a man moche noted for his noughtie and vncleane life: this Libo saied to hym in this wise. Good Lorde, when shall wee see you sir abrode, out of your Parlour. Marie (quod he) when thou kepest thy self out of an other mannes Chamber, meanyng that he was ouer familiar with an other mannes wife. Thus we se how and in what maner pleasaunt sawes are gathered and vsed, vppon the occasion of diuerse wordes spoken.

Alphonsus king of Naples, had a Jester in his Courte, who made a booke, and kept a rekenynge of all folies, especially soche as he thought to bee folies, of all those Gentilmenne and others, that waited in the Courte, whereat the king tooke greate pleasure oftentimes. And so it happened, that the kyng hauyng a Moze in his house, sente the same manne into Leuante, with three or fower thousande pound in his purse, to buie hozses in Affrica. The Jester seing this acte, did put it in his booke of remembrauuce, for a plain folie. Now it happened, that within a little while after, the kyng asked this Jester for his booke, bicause he had not seen it of a long tyme before. And readyng vpon his booke, wher he founde many merie madde toyes, he hitte at length vpon himself, and the Moze, vnto whom he had giuen three thousande pounde, to buye hozses for him in Barbarie. Whereupon the kyng somewhat chaunged in colour, asked him in his anger, why he had put him in his booke after that sorte. I haue put you in my booke (quod the Jester) bicause you haue plaied the verie foole, to giue the bestowyng of so moch money to a straunger, whom you shall neuer see againe. And what if he come againe (quod the kyng) and bryng the hozses with hym, haue I then plaied the foole? Well (quod the Jester) so sone as he is come, I will then put out your name out of my booke, and put his name in your place. For then I must needes take hym to bee a moze foole then you are, a greate deale. But til he come, you shalbe in my booke, God willing.

Pleasaunt

Pleasaunte sporte made, by rehearsyng of a whole matter.

The nature and whole course of a matter, beeyng largely set out with a comely behauor, doth moch delite the hearers, & giueth good cause of greate pastyme. this difference is betwene a ieste in a woorde, and a ieste vttered in a longe tale. That whiche is still delitefull, with what woordes soeuer you tell it, is conteined in the substaunce or nature of a long tale: that whiche loseth his grace by altheracion of a worde, is conteined in the nature of a worde. They that can liuelie tell pleasaunt tales and merie dedes doen, and set them out as well with gesture as with voice, leauyng nothyng behinde, that maie serue for beautifyng of their matter: are most mete for this purpose, wherof assuredlie there are but fewe. And whatsoeuer he is, that can aptlie tel his tale, and with countenaunce, voice, and gesture, so temper his reporte, that the hearers maie still take delite: hym coumpte I manne worthie to bee highlie estemed. For vndoubtedlie no manne can dooe any soche thing, excepte they haue a greate mother witte, and by experience confirmed soche their comelinesse, wherunto by nature they were moste apt. Many a man readeth histories, heareth Fables, seeth worthie actes doen, euen in this our age but few can set theim out accordinglie, and tell theim liuelie, as the matter self requireth to be tolde. The kindes of delityng in this sorte are diuers: whereof I will set forth many, as herafter they shall folowe.

Difference betwixt a iest in a woorde, & a iest in a longe tale.

Sporte moued by tellyng of olde tales.

If there be any olde tale, or straunge historie, well & wittelie applied, to some man liuyng, all menne loue to heare it of life. As if one wer called Arthur some good fellowe that wer well acquainted with king Arthures booke, and the knightes of his rounde table, would want no matter to make good sporte, and for a neede would dubbe him knight of the rounde Table, or els proue him to be one of his kinne, or els (whiche wer moche) proue him to be Arthure himself. And so likewise of other names, merie panions would make madde pastime.

Oftētyms the deformitie of a mannes body, giueth matter enough to bee right merie, or ells a picture in shape like an other man, will make some to laugh right hartely. One

Deformity of body moueth mirthe.

being greued with an other man, saide in his anger, I will sette thee out in thy coloures, I will shewe what thou arte. The other beinge therewith muche chafede, shewe, q he, what thou canste: with that he shewed hym, poincting with his finger, a man with a bottell nose, blobbe cheaked, and as redde as a Bouchers bowle, euen as like the other mãne as anie one in all the worlde could bee. I neede not to saye that he was angrie. An other good felowe beyng merely disposed, called his acquaintaunce vnto hym and saied: Come hither I saie, and I wil shewe thee as berie a lowte as euer thou sawe̅ste in all thy life before, with that he offered hym at his commynge a steele glasse to looke in. But surelye I thynke hee looked a wrie, for if I hadde been in his case, I woulde haue tolde hym that I espied a much greater lowte before I sawe the glasse.

Augmenting or diminishyng.

In augmentyng or diminishing without all reason, wee giue good cause of muche pastyme. As Diogenes seeyng a prette Towne, hauinge a greate paire of Gates at the comming in: Take heede q he, you menne of this Towne, least your towne runne out of your gates. That was a marueylous bigge Gate I trowe, or ells a wonderfull litle towne, where suche passage shoulde be made.

A Frier disposed to tell misteries, opened to the People that the soule of manne was so litle, that a leuen thousande might daunce vpon the naile of his thumbe. One marueiling muche at that, I praie yu maister Frier q he, where shall the piper stand then, when suche a number shall kepe so small a roume.

Openyng a weightye or vnknowen thynge.

Mirthe is moued when vpon a trifle or a worde spoken, an vnknowen matter and weightye affaire is opened. As if one shoulde finde fault with some mannes sumptuous buildinge, or other suche thinge: whiche hadde founde much fauoure at the same mannes hande: an other might saie, Iwis sir, he that builded this house, saued your worship from hanginge when the tyme was. A necessarie note for him, thankefully to remẽbre the builder of that house, and not slaunderously to speake euill of him.

Dissembling.

It is a pleasaunt dissembling, when we speake one thing merelye, and thinke an other earnestlye, or elles when we praise that which otherwise deserueth dispraise, to the sha-

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ming of those that are taken not to be most honest.

As in speakinge of one that is wel knowen to be nought, to saie emong all men that are seen to, there is one that lacketh his reward. He is the diligentiest felowe in hys callinge of all other, he hath traueyled in behalfe of his countrey, he hath watched daie and night to further his cõmune weale, and to aduaunce the dignitie thereof, and shal he goe emptie home? Who stode by it at soche a felde, who played the man and cried, stoppe the thiefe, when such a man was robbed? Who seeth good rule kept in suche a place? can anye here charge him with bawdrie? Whiche of you all dare saie or can saie that euer you sawe him drõken, if then these be true, ought not suche to be sene to: and rewarded accordingly? For praisynge the vnworthye, I remember once that our worthy Latimer dyd set out the deuyll, for his diligence wonderfullie, and preferred hym for that purpose, before all the Bishopps in England. And no doubte, the wicked be more busye and stirrynge, then the children of light be in their generation.

What talke you of suche a man (saithe an other) there is an honest man ye may be assured. For if a man had neade of one, he is ready at a pynche, his body sweates for honestly, if you come to him in a hotte sommers day, you shal se his honestie in suche sort to reeke, that it would pitye any christian soule liuynge. He hath more honestie wyth hym then he neades, and therefore bothe is able and will lende, where it pleaseth hym best. Beware of hym aboue all menne that euer you knewe. He hath no fellowe, there is none suche, I thinke he wil not liue longe, he is so honest a man, the more pitye that suche good felowes should knowe what deathe meaneth. But it maketh no matter, when he his gone, all the worlde will speake of hym, his name shall neuer dye, he is so well knowen vniuersallye.

Thus wee maye mockingelye speake well of hym, when there is not a noughtyer fellowe wythin all Englande again, and euen as well sette out his noughtines this waie, as though wee hadde in very deede vttered all his noughtie conditions plainlie, and without iestynge. Emonge all that euer were pleasaunte in this kinde of delite, Socrates beareth the name, and maye worthelye chalenge prayse. Sir

Thomas More with vs here in Englande, had an excellent gift, not onelie in this kinde, but also in all other pleasaunt delites, whose witte euen at this houre, is a wonder to all the worlde, and shalbe vndoubtedly, euen vnto the worldes ende. Unto this kinde of dissemblyng, is nexte adioinyng a maner of speache, when we giue an honest name to an euill deede. As when I would call one accordinglie, that is of a noughtie behauour, to saie: Ah sirrha, you are a Parchaunt in deede: where as I thinke a Parchauntes name is honest. Some old felows, when they thinke one to be an heretique, they will saie, he is a Gospeller. Some newe felowes, when thei thinke one a Papist, they will call him straight a catholique, and bee euen with him at the landes ende. Contrarywise, some will giue an euill name to a good thing: As a father louyng his sonne tenderlie, and hauing no cause to bee greued with him, will sometimes saie to him: Come hether sir knaue, and the mother merelie beyng disposed, will saie to her swete sonne: Ah you little horeson, will you serue me so. Where as I thinke some women, that ofte so saie, will sweare vpon a booke thei are none sochs, and almoste I had saied, I dare sweare for some of them my self, if God had not forbidden me to sweare at all.

This kinde also is prette, whē we gather an other thing by a mannes tale, then he would gladlie we should gather.

M. Fabius Maximus. When Liuius Salinator a Romaine Capitaine, had kepte the Castell of Tarentum, losing the towne to Hanniball his enemie, and that Maximus thereupon had laied siege to the same towne, and gotte it again by the sweard: then Salinator, whiche thus kept the Castell, desired him to remember, that through his meanes he gotte the towne. Why should I not (q he) thinke so: For if you had neuer losse it, I had neuer gotte it.

Diogenes. To dissemble sometymes, as though we vnderstoode not what one meante, declareth an apte witte, and mocks delites soche as heare it. Diogenes was asked on a tyme, what wine he loued beste to drinke. Marie (q he) on other mannes wine, meanyng that he loued that drincke beste, that coste hym leaste. The same Diogenes likewise was asked what one should giue hym, to let hym haue a blowe at his bedde. Marie a Helmet q he.

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One Octauius a Libian borne (as witnesseth Macrobius) saied vnto Tullie, when he spake his minde vpon a matter. Sir, I heare you not, I praie you speake louder. Mocke Tullie: That is maruelle to me, for as I dooe remember, your eares are well bored through, meanyng that he was nailed vppon a Pillorie, or elles had holes made in his eares, whiche might well serue (as Tullie iested) to receiue open aire.

An other, beyng sore offended vpon some cause with a fellowe, who had lost his eares for good cause, saied in his heate. I will handle thee like a knaue, seest thou now. And heaping wordes vpon wordes, would gladly belike that the partie should haue carried them awaie, and well remembred them, and therefore saied sumouselie vnto hym, dooest thou heare me: Upon that, one that stode by, sayed to this angrie Gentilman. I doubt sir, that this Pillerie felowe doeth not heare you at all. For as you remember he lotte his eares of late, & how can he heare, that hath no eares at al. With that the Gentilmannes anger, was altered to mirthe and laughter, and so they all departed.

When Metellus toke muster, and required Cesar to bee there, not abiding that he should be absent, though his yies greued him, and saied: what man, doe you se nothing at all: Yes Marie (quod Cesar) as euill as I see, I can see a lordship of yours (the whiche was fower or fiue miles from Rome) declaring that his buildyng was ouer sumptuous, & so houge withall (moche aboue his degree) that a blind manne might almoste see it. Now in those daies ouercostlie buildyng was generally hated, bicause men sought by suche meanes to get fame, and bere rule in the common weale.

The like also is of one Nasica, who when he came to the Poete Ennius, and alaying at the gates if Ennius were at home, the maide of the house, beyng so commaunded by her Maister, made answere that he was not within. And when he perceiued, that she so saied by her maisters commaundement, he went straight his waie, and saied no more.

Now shortlie after, when Ennius came to Nasica, and called for hym at the dooze, Nasica cried out a loude, and saied, Sirrha, I am not at home: What manne (quod Ennius) I heare thee speake. Dooe not I knowe thy voice: Then (quod

Ennius plea saũte answer to Nasica.

Nasica.) Ah shameleſſe man that thou arte, when I sought thee at thy home, I did beleue thy maide, when she saied thou wast not at home, and wilte not thou beleue me, when I tell thee mine owne self, that I am not at home?

I mã mocked with thesame he bringeth.

It is a pleasaunte hearyng, when one is mocked with the same that he bringeth. As when one M. Opimius hauyng an euill name for his light behauoure, had saied to a pleasaunt manne, Egilius that semed to bee wanton of liuyng, and yet was not so: Ah my sweate darlyng Egilia, when wilte thou come to my house swete wenche, with thy rocke and thy spindle? I dare not in good faithe (quod she) my mother hath forbidde me, to come in any suspected hous, where euill rule is kept.

An Eremite of Italie, profesſyng a marueilous straighte life, and eschewyng the Citee, dwelte in deserte, where he made himself a Caue, wrought by his owne handes, with spade and shouell, and coueryng thesame with boughes, and yearth, laie there in his couche or cabine, liuyng in contemplacion, as one that vtterlie had forsaken the worlde, wherupon he came in greate credite with the people, & especiallie with the women of that Toune, as by nature women are more apte to beleue, and readier giuen to Superſtition then men are. Afterwardes it appered that this Eremites holinesse, was altogether counterfeite, and he founde a verie leude manne. For it was knowen and well proued, that he had the companie of diuerse Gentilwomen in that Citee, and therefore beeyng examined openlie, and greuouslie rebuked, he confeſſed that he had thuse of diuerse ladies there. Whereupon a Regiſter, that tooke the note of all their names, beyng moche greeued with his filthie behauiour, especiallie bicause he had vsed so many, saied thus. Ah thou vile man. Is there any other, with whō thou hast been acquainted? Gate on beast, and shame the deuil. The poore Eremite beeyng wonderfullie rebuked of euery bodie, and marueilous sorie of soche his folies, priuelie committed, and openlie knowen. Said to the Regiſter in this wise. Sir, seyng I am charged to saie the truth, and that the holie mother Church willeth me to leaue nothing vnrehearsed, that the rather vpon my plain confeſſion, I may the soner haue absolucion: In good faithe maister Regiſter (quod he) I doue not remember

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any other sauyng your wife onely, who was the firste and the laste that I haue touched, sinse I made my Graue, and therfore if it please you, to put her into your booke also, you maie boldlie doe it. For surely, she was verie louyng to me. With that the Register in a greate heate stoode vp, and castyng his Penne out of his hande, would haue been at the Cremite, rather then his life. The people laughed hartely, to see the Register that was so hastie before, to charge the simple Cremite with his wanton folies, to be in sothe sorte touched with his wiues defaulte. And many then there (as yong menne be in sothe cases forward) would in any wise, that the Register should haue written his wiues name, in his owne booke, *ad æternam rei memoriam*.

Those iestes are bitter, whiche haue a hid vnderstanding in them, whereof also a man maie gather mothe more, then is spoken. A homely felowe made his wofull lamentation to Diogenes, in moste pitifull sorte, bicause his wife had hanged her self vpon a Figge tree, hoping to finde some chorte at his hande. But Diogenes hearyng this straunge deede, for the loue of God, q he, giue me some slippes of that tree, that I might sette them in some orchard. The fruicte liked hym well, and belike he thought that sothe slippes, would haue been as good to dispatche noughtie women, as Lime twigges are thought mete to catche wilde birdes withall.

Diogenes doggish aunswer in despite of women.

An Archedeacon, beyng nothyng so wise, as he was welthie, nor yet so learned, as he was worshipfull, asked a yong man ones, whether he had a good witte, or no. Yes Marie sir, q he, your witte is good inough, if you keepe it still, and vse it not, for euery thynge as you knowe, is the worsse for the wearyng. Thou saiest euen truthe, q he, for that is the matter that I neuer vsed preaching: For it is nothing but a wasting of witte, & a spending of winde. And yet if I would preache, I thinke I could doo as well as the beste of theim. Yea sir, q he, but yet I would ye should not proue it, for fear of straining your self to mothe: why? Dooest thou feare that q he, naie thou maiest bee assured, I will neuer preache so long as I liue, God beyng my good Lorde. There are ouer many Heretiques, for good meaning menne to speake anything now a daies. Thou saie euen truthe, q the yong man, & so went forthe, but to tell all, I had nede to haue tyme of an-

other worloe, or at the lest to haue breath of an other bodie.

An vnlearned Orator made an Oration on a tyme, thinking that he had with his well doing delited muche al men. and moued them to mercie and pitie, and therefore sittynge doune, he asked one Catulus if he had not moued the hearers to mercie. Yes marie; ꝙ he: and that to great mercie and pitie bothe, for I thinke there is none here so hard harted, but thought your oration very miserable, and therefore nedefull to be greatly pitied.

Churlishe aunsweres, lyke the hearers some tymes very well. When the father was cast in iudgement, the sonne seyng hym wepe: Why wepe you father? ꝙ he: To whome his father aunswered: What? Shall I synge I praye the, seeyng by a lawe I am condempned to dye. Socrates lykewyse beeyng moued of his wife, because he should dye an innocent and giltesse in the lawe: Why for shame woman ꝙ he: wilt thou haue me to dye giltye and deseruyng. When one had falne into a ditche, an other pitiyng his fall, asked hym and said, Alas how got you into that pit? Why, Gods mother: ꝙ the other: doest thou aske me how I gotte in, nay tel me rather in the mischief, how I shall gette out.

There is an other contrarie vnto this kind, when a man suffereth wronge, and geuethe no sharpe aunswere at all. As when Cato was stroken of one that caried a chest: some saie a long powle: when the other said, after he had hit him Take hede sir I pray you: why, ꝙ Cato, doest thou cary any thynge elles.

Folie and lacke of natural wit, or els wante of honestie, geue good matter of myrthe often tymes. When Scipio beyng Pretor, had appointed vnto a certaine Sicilian, one to be his lawyer that was of a good house, and had an euill witte, litle better than halfe a foole: I praie you, ꝙ the Sicilian to Scipio, appoint this lawier for myne aduersarie, and let me haue none at all hardely.

Wishyng. In speakyng against an euill man, & wishyng somewhat thereupon, a ieste may seme delitefull. When an eueill man had accused many persons, and non toke any harme by him but rather were acquited from tyme to tyme, and taken the sooner for honestmen: Now would to Christes passion, ꝙ a naughtie fellow: that he were myne accuser, for then should

I bee taken for an honest man also, through his accusation. Demonides hauyng crooked feete, lost on a tyme bothe his shoone, wherupō he made his praier to God that his shoone might serue his feete that had stolne them awaie. A shrewde wisshe for hym that had the shoone, and better neuer weare shoone, than steale them so dearely.

Thynges gathered by coniecture to seme otherwise then they are, delite much the eares being well applied together. One was charged for robbyng a Churche, and almost euidently proued to be an offendour in that behaulfe, the saied man to saue hymself harmeleſſe, reasoned thus: Why, quod he how should this be, I neuer robbed house, nor yet was euer faultie in any offence besides, how then shoulde I presume to robbe a Churche? I haue loued the Churche more than any other, & will louers of the Churche robbe the Churche? I haue geuen to the Churche, howe happeneth that I am charged to take frō the Churche, hauing euer so good mind to church dignitie? Assure your selues they passed litle of the Churche, that would auenture to robbe the Churche. Thei are no Churche men, they are masterleſſe men, or rather S. Nicolas Clarks, that lacke liuing, and goyng in procession takes the Churche to be an hospitall for waie fairers, or a praie for poore and nedie beggers: but I am no suche man. Coniectures.

Thynges wantyng, make good passyme being aptely hed. Alacke, alacke, if suche a one had somewhat to take to, & were not past grace: he would doe well enough without all doubt: I warrant hym, he wantes nothyng saieth an other of a couetouse man but one thyng, he hath neuer enoughe. Thynges wantyng.

Soche a man hath no fault, but one, and if that were amended, all were well: what is that quod an other? In good faith, he is nought.

To geue a familiar aduise in the waie of passyme, deliteth muche the hearers. Whē an vnlerned lawyer had been houarse and almost lost his voice with ouerlong speakynge, one Granius gaue him counsel to drinke swete wine colde, so sone as he came home. Why, quod he, I shall lose my voice, If I do so. Marye, quod he, and better do so, then vndo thy client and lose his matter altogether. Familiar aduise geuyng.

But emong all other kyndes of delite there is none that so muche comforteth and gladdeth the hearer, as a thynge spoken Thynges spoken contrarie to expectacion.

ſpoken contrarie to therpectatiō of other. Augullus Empe-rour of Rome ſeeyng a handſome young man there, whiche was muche like vnto himſelf in countenance, aſked hym if euer his mother was in Rome, as though he had been his baſtard. No ſoꝛſothe (ꝙ he) but my father hath been here ve-ry oftē: with that themperour was abaſſhed, as thought the Emperoꝛs own mother had ben an euil womā of her body.

When an vnlearned Phiſition (as England lacketh none ſuche) had come to Pauſanias a noble Gentleman, and aſ-ked him if he were not troubled muche with ſickneſ. No ſir (ꝙ he) I am not troubled at all, I thanke God, becauſe I vſe not thy counſaill. Why dooe ye accuſe me (ꝙ the Phiſi-cion) that neuer tried me? Mary (ꝙ Pauſanias) if I had ones tried thee, I ſhould neuer haue accuſed thee, foꝛ then I had been deade, and in my graue many daies agone.

An Engliſh Phiſicīō riding by the way: and ſeyng a great company of men gatherd together, ſent his man to knowe what the matter was, wherupō his man vnderſtāding that one there was appointed to ſuffer foꝛ killyng a man: came ridynge backe in all poſt haſte, and cried to his maſter, long befoꝛe he came at hym: Get you hence ſir, get you hence, foꝛ Gods loue. What means thou (ꝙ his maſter). Mary (ꝙ the ſeruaunt, yonder man ſhall die foꝛ killyng of one man, and you I dare ſaye, haue killed a hundꝛeth mēne in your daies: Get you hence therefoꝛe foꝛ Gods loue, if you loue your ſelf.

An Italian hauing a ſute here in England, to Tharche-biſhoppe of Poꝛke that then was, and commyng to Poꝛke Toune at that tyme, when one of the Pꝛebendaries there, bꝛake his bꝛeade, as thei terme it, and thereupon made a ſo-lemne longe diner, the whiche perhappes began at aleuen, and continued welnighe till fower in the after noone, at the whiche diner this Biſhop was: It ſo foꝛtuned that as they were ſette, the Italian knockte at the Gate, vnto whom the Poꝛter perceiuing his errande, anſwered, that my loꝛde Bi-ſhop was at diner. The Italian departed, and retourned be-twirte twelue and one, the Poꝛter anſwered, they were yet at diner, he came againe at twoo of the Clocke, the Poꝛter tolde him, thei had not halfe dined: he came at thꝛee a clocke, vnto whom the Poꝛter in a beate, anſwered neuer a woꝛde, but churliſhely did ſhutte the gates vpon him. Whereupon

others

others tolde the Italian, that there was no speaking with my Lorde, almoste all that daie, for the solemne diner sake. The Gentilman Italian, wonderyng moch at soche a long sitting, and greatlie greued, bicause he could not then speak with the Bishoppes grace, departed streight towardes Lõdon, and leauyng the dispatche of his matters, with a dere frende of his, toke his iourney towards Italie. Three yeres after, it happened ỹ an Englisheman came to Rome, with whõ this Italian by chaunce falling acquainted, asked him if he knewe the Bishop of Yorke. The Englisheman saied, he knewe him right well. I praie you tell me (q the Italian) hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englishe manne moche marueilyng at his question, could not tell what to saie. The Italian vp and tolde him all, as I haue saied before, whereat they bothe laughed hartelie.

Examples bee innumerables that serue for this purpose.

A man may by hearing a loud lye, pretelye mocke the lye by reportyng a greater lye. When one beyng of a lowe degree & his father of meane welthe, had vaunted much of the good house that his father kepte, of two Beefes spent weekelie, and halfe a frore Tunne of wyne dronke in a yeare, another good fellowe hearyng him lye so shamefully: in deede (q he) Beefe is so plentiful at my master your fathers house that an Ore in one daie is nothyng, and as for wyne, Beggers that come to the doore are serued by whole gallondes. And as I remẽber your father hath a spryng of wyne in the middest of his Court, God continue his good house keepyng. A lye mocked with a lye.

Oftentymes wee may graunt to an other, the same that they wil not graunt to vs. When a base borne felow whose parentes were not honeste, had charged Lelius that he dyd not liue, accordyng to his auncestors: yea, but thou doest liue (q Lelius according to thy elders, Graũtyng to other thesame that thei will not graunt to vs.

One beeing a Gentleman in byrthe, and an vnthrifte in condicions, called an other man in reproche begger and slaue. In dede Sir (q the poore mã) you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye will dye one. Better bee borne a begger, than dye a begger.

An other lykewise called Diogenes varlet and caitif, to whome Diogenes aunswered in this wyse. In dede suche a one haue I been as thou now art, but suche a one as I now am, shalt thou neuer be.

Salust

Saluſt. Saluſt beeyng a ientleman borne, and a man of muche welth, and yet rather by birth, noble: than by true dealyng honeſte: enuied muche the eſtimacion, whiche Tullie had emong all men, and ſaid to hym before his face: Thou art no ientleman borne, and therefore not mette to beare Office in this commune weale: In dede (q Tullie) my nobilitie beginnes in me, and thine doeth ende in thee. Meanyng thereby that though Saluſt were borne noble, yet he were lyke to die wretched, whereas Tullie beeyng borne both poore, and baſe, was lyke to dye with honour, becauſe of his vertue, wherein chiefly conſiſteth nobilitie.

Pleaſaũt diſſembling in outwarde behauiour. There is a pleaſaunte kinde of diſſemblynge when twoo meetes together, and the one can not well abyde the other: and yet they bothe outwardely ſtriue to vſe pleaſaunt behauioure, and to ſhow muche courteſie: yea to cõtende on both partes, whiche ſhoulde paſſe other in vſyng of faire wordes, and makyng liuely countenaunces: ſekyng by diſſemblyng, the one to deceiue the other.

Checkyng a lyar, with an open mocke. When we ſee a notable lye vtterde, we checke the offendour openly with a pleaſaunt mocke. As when one Vibius Curius did ſpeake muche of his yeares, and made hym ſelfe to be much youger then he was (q Tullie) why than maſter Vibius as farre as I can gather by my reckenyng, when you and I declamed together laſt, you were not then borne by all lykelyhoode, if that bee true whiche you ſaie.

When Fabia Dolobella ſaid to theſame Tullie that ſhe was but thirtie yeres of age: as women by their good willes woulde neuer be olde: I thynke ſo (q Tullie) for I haue heard you ſaie no leſſe, xx. yeres ago.

A Souldiour that thought his eſtimacion ſtoode moſte in the vertue of his hand gunne, made a meruelloſe braggue of it, and ſaid he was able to ſhowte leauel a great deale farther, than any one there would beleue hym to ſay truth: Whereupon he called for his man, to beare witneſſe of the ſame, and aſked him whether it were ſo, or no. In deede, q his man, you ſaie truth, buth then you muſt remember ſir, you had the wynd with you when you ſhotte ſo farre.

Belike he thought, there would neuer come
ſuche a wynde againe.

¶ Of

¶ Of disposicion and apte orderyng of thynges.

I Haue trauailed hetherto in teachyng the right way to fynde meete matter for euery cause, vsyng Arte as my slender wit coulde best yelde. And now, next and immediatly after inuencion I thinke meete to speake of frampng and placyng an Oracion in order, that the matter beeyng aptely fatelde, and couched together: might better pleafe the hearers, and with more eafe be learned of all men. And the rather I am earneft in this behaulfe, becaufe I knowe that all thinges ftande by order, and without order nothyng can be. For by an order we are borne, by an order we lyue, and by an order we make our ende. By an order one ruleth as head, and other obey as mẽbers. By an order Realmes ftande, and lawes take force. Yea, by an order the whole worke of nature, and the perfite ftate of all the elementes haue their appointed courfe. By an order we deuife, we learne, and frame our doynges to good purpofe. By an order the Carpenter hath his Squyre, his Rule, & his Plumett. The Tailour his mette yarde, and his meafure: The Maſon his Former, and his Plame, and euery one according to his callyng, frameth thinges therafter. For though matter be had, and that in great plentie: yet all is to no purpofe, if an order be not vfed. As for example: What auaileth Stone, if Maſons doee not worke it: What good dothe clothe, if Tailours take no meafure, or do not cutte it out? Though Tymber be had for makyng a Shippe, and al other thynges neceffarye, yet the fhippe fhall neuer bee perfite, tyll worke men begynne to fet to their hanes, and ioyne it together. In what a comelye order hath God made man, whofe fhape is not thought perfite, if any parte be altered: yea al folke would take hym for a monfter, whofe fete fhoulde occupie the place of his handes. An army neuer getteth victorie, that is not in arate, and fette in good order of battaill. So an Oration hath litle force with it, and doeth fmally profite, whiche is vtterde without all order. And needes muſte bee wander, that knowes not howe to goe, neither can he otherwife chooſe, but ſtumble: that groppyng

Order of what force it is.

in the darke, can not tel wher he is: yea he must nedes both leaue muche vnspoken, repeate often thynges spoke before, not knowing what, not wher to speake best: that geues him selfe rather to take the chaunce of fortune, than to followe the right waye of aduised counsell. What should a man doo with a weapon, that knoweth not howe to vse it? What though one haue mountaines of golde, what auaileth him to haue suche heapes if he cannot tell how to bestow them? It is not enoug to haue learnynge, but it is all to vse learnyng. Therefore because this parte of bestowyng matter, and placyng it in good order, is so necessarye: I will showe what the learned haue saied in this behaulfe, so muche as I shall thynke nedefull.

Disposicion what it is.

Disposicion: as Tullie doeth define it: is a certain bestowyng of thynges, and an apte declarynge, what is meete for euery parte, as tyme and place do beste require.

Diuidyng of Disposition.

There are two kindes of disposyng, and placyng of matter. The one is when we folow the appointed rule of Rhetorique, the whiche nature doth almost teache vs: The other is wholy fashioned by the discretion of him that makes the Oration.

Rhetorique what it teacheth, for orderyng of thynges.

Rhetorique doeth teache vs, and nature also leadeth vs therunto, firste to speake somwhat before we open our matter, after that to tell the cause of our entente, settyng forthe the matter plainly that all may vnderstand it, then to proue our owne cause by good reason, and to confute all suche thinges as are contrarie to our purpose: last of all to gather the whole in a somme, concludyng the matter briefely, and so to make an ende. Nowe to place those reasons, whiche shoulde both serue to confirme and to confute, and to tell, in what part of the Oration it were beste to vse this reason, and that reason, that the rather wee might proue, teache, and perswade: a right wyse man had nede to take this matter in hande. For euen as the time, the place, the iudge, and the matter it self shall geue cause: so muste a wyse body take his aduauntage. Sometymes it shalbe expedient to vse no preface at al, or ells when the matter is wel knowne, it will

be

be good to leaue the matter vntolde, and straight to seke the confirmacion, vsyng some stronge reason, for thesame purpose. Yea, sometymes it maie doe good, to neglecte the naturall order, and begin first to proue the cause, and after warde to tell it better, then it was tolde before.

If the iudge, or the hearers, shalbe wearied with other reportes before, it is beste to go to the matter, and proue it out of hande, with as briefe reasons, and as strong as can bee gathered possible. And in prouing of our matters, we had nede euermore, rather to weye our reasons, then to nomber them and thinke not, that then we shall doe best, whē we haue the moste, but then loke to doe best, when we haue the strongest. And first of all, the strongest should be vsed, and thother placed in the middeste of the Oracion, the whiche beyng heaped together, will make a good mustar. And yet this also would be learned, whereas we vsed the best reasons at the first, we should also reserue some that were like good, for the latter ende: that the hearers might haue them freshe in their remēbraunce, when thei should giue iudgement. The slender reasons that can do lesse good, and yet not all (for some maie better be omitted) would be placed in the middest (as I said) that bothe thei might be lesse marked, or beyng heaped there together, thei might doue more good, especially when bothe weightie reasons went before, and weightie reasons also followed after. Now, a wiseman that hath good experience in these affaires, and is hable to make himself a Rhetorique for euery matter, will not be bownd to any precise rules, nor kepe any one order, but soche onely as by reason, he shall thinke best to vse, beyng maister ouer art, rather then art should be maister ouer him, rather makyng art by witte, then cōfoundyng wit by art. And vndoubtedly euen in so doyng, he shall doe right well, and contente the hearers accordingly. For what mattereth, whether we folowe our booke, or no, if we folowe wit, and appointe our self an order, soche as maie declare the truthe more plainly: Yea, some that be vnlearned, and yet haue right good wittes: will deuise with them selues without any booke learnyng, what thei will saie, and howe muche thei will saie, appointeyng their order, and parting it into three or fower partes, or more, if nede bee, soche as thei shall thinke especiall pointes, and moste mete to be touched.

Argumentes howe thei should be digested.

Whose dooynges as I can well like, and moche commende them for the same: so I would thinke them moche more hable to doe moche better: if thei either by learnyng, folowed a paterne, or els knewe the preceptes, whiche leade vs to righte order. Rules were therefore giuen, and by moche obseruatiō gathered together, that those, whithe could not se art hid in an other mannes dooynges, should yet se the rules open, all in an order set together: and therby iudge the rather of their dooynges, and by earnestie imitacion, seke to resemble soche their inuention. I can not denie, but that a right wise man vnlearned, shall doe more good by his naturall wit, then .xx. of these common wittes, that wante Nature to helpe arte. And I knowe that rules were made, firste by wisemen, and not wise men made by rules. For these preceptes serue onely to helpe our nede, soche as by nature, haue not soche plentifull giftes. And as for other, vnto whom nature is more fauourable, thei are rather put, the sonet in remembraunce, that soche lessons aue, then so taught, as though thei neuer knewe theim, or els neuer would vse theim. And therefore, a certain learned man, and of moche excellencie, beyng asked, what was soche a figure, and soche a trope in Rhetorique: I can not tell (q he) but I am assured, if you loke in the boke of mine orations, you shall not faile but finde theim. So that though he knewe not the name of soche, and soche figures, yet the nature of thē, was so familiare to his knowlege, that he had the vse of thē, when soeuer he had nede. Now though this man could well thus do, being of soche notable vnderstādyng, yet it wer folie, that I should folowe his waie, whiche want so good a wit. And I thinke euē he himself, should not haue lofte by it neither, if he had seen that in a glasse, whiche he often vsed to doe, without knowledge. Man is forgetfull, and there is none so wise, but counsaill maie doe hym good. Yea, he shall doe moche better, that knoweth what art other men haue vsed, what inuencion thei haue folowed, what order thei haue kepte, and how thei haue beste dooen in euery part. If he like not theirs, he maie vse his owne, and yet none doeth so euill (I thinke) but some good maie be got by hym. The wise therefore, will not refuse to heare: and the ignoraunt for wante, had nede to seke a wille.

The vse of art.

The ende of the seconde Booke.

The

¶ The thirde Booke.

¶ Of apt chusyng and tramyng of wordes and sentences together, called Elocution.

AND now we are come to that part of Rhetorique, the whiche aboue all other, is most beautifull, whereby not onely wordes are aptly vsed, but also sentences are in righte order framed. For whereas Inuencion, helpeth to finde matter, and Disposicion serueth to place argumentes: Elocution getteth wordes to set forthe Inuencion, and with suche beautie commendeth the matter, that reason semeth to bee cladde in Purple, walkyng afore, bothe bare and naked. Therefore, Tullie saieth well, to finde out reason, and aptly to frame it, is the part of a wiseman, but to commend it by wordes, and with gorgious talke, to tell our conceipte, that is onely proper to an Orator. Many are wise, but fewe haue the gifte, to set foorthe their wisedome. Many can tell their minde in English, but fewe can vse mete termes, and apt order: suche as all men should haue, and wisemen will vse: suche as needes must be had, when matters should be vttered. Now then what is he, at whō all men wonder, and stande in a mase, at the view of his wit: Whose doinges are best esteemed: Whō doe we moste reuerence, and compt half a God emong men: Euen suche a one assuredly, that can plainly, distinctly, plentifully, and aptly, vtter bothe wordes and matter, and in his talke can vse suche composicion, that he make appere to kepe an vniformitie, and (as I might saie) a nomber in the vttering of his sentēce. Now, an eloquēt man being smally learned, can do moche more good in perswading, by shift of wordes, and mete placing of matter: then a great learned clerke shalbe able, with great store of learning, wātyng wordes to set forth his meanyng. Wherefore I moche marueile, that so many seke thonly knowlege of thinges, without any minde to commende or set forth, their intendement: seyng none can knowe either what thei are, or what thei haue, without the gift of vttraunce. Yea, bring them to speake their mind, and enter in talke with suche, as are saied to be learned, and you shall finde in them suche lacke of vttraunce, that if you iudge them by their tong, and expressyng of their minde: you must

Eloquent men moste esteemed.

nedes saie thei haue no learnyng. Wherein me thinkes thei doe, like some riche snudges, that hauyng greate wealth, go with their hose out at heeles, their showes out at toes, and their coates out at bothe elbowes. For who can tell, if soche men are worthe a grote, when their apparell is so homelie, and al their behauiour so base: I can call them by none other name, but slouens, that maie haue good geare, and neither can, nor yet will ones weare it cleanly. What is a good thing to a man, if he neither knowe the vse of it, nor yet (though he knowe it) is hable at all to vse it: If we thinke it comelinesse and honestie, to set forthe the body with handsome apparell, and thinke them worthie to haue money, that bothe can and will vse it accordingly: I can not otherwise see, but that this parte deserueth praise, whiche standeth wholie in settyng forthe the matter, by apte woordes and sentences together, and beautifieth the tongue, with greate chaunge of colours, and varietie of figures.

Barbarous Clerkes, no better then slouens.

¶ Foure partes belongyng to Elocution.

i. Plainnesse.
ii. Aptnesse.
iii. Composicion.
iiii. Ornamentacion.

Plainnesse, what it is.

Among all other lessons, this should first be learned, that we neuer affecte any straunge ynkehorne termes, but so speake as is commonly receiued: neither seking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer careless, vsyng our speache as moste men doe, and ordryng our wittes, as the fewest haue doen. Some seke so farre for outlandishe Englishe, that thei forgette altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei wer not hable to tell, what thei saie, and yet these fine Englishe clerkes, will saie thei speake in their mother tonge, if a man should charge them, for counterfeityng the kynges Englishe. Some farre iourned gentleman, at their retourne home, like as thei loue to go in forrein apparell, so thei will pouder their talke, with ouersea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke Frenche Englishe, and neuer blushe at the matter. And other chops in with Englishe Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase, to our Englishe speaking, the whiche is, as if an Oratour

ratour, that profeſſeth to vtter his mynde in plaine Latine, would needes ſpeake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of ſtraunge antiquitie. The Lawier will ſtore his ſtomacke with the prattyng of Pedlers. The Auditour, in making his accoumpt and rekening, cometh in with fiſe ſould, and cater denere, for. vj. s. iij. d. The fine Courtie, will talke nothyng but Chaucer. The miſticall wiſemen, and Poeticall Clerkes, will ſpeake nothyng but quainte prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delityng moche in their owne darkeneſſe, eſpecially, when none can tell what thei doe ſaie. The vnlearned or foolithe phantaſticall, that ſmelles but of learnyng (ſoche felowes as haue ſeen learned men in their daies) will ſo Latine their toungues, that the ſimple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke ſurely, thei ſpeake by ſome reuelacion. I knowe them that thinke Rhetorique, to ſtande wholly vpon darke wordes, and he that can catche an vnke horne terme by the taile, hym thei coumpt to be a fine Engliſhmã, and a good Rhetorician. And the rather to ſet out this folie, I will adde ſoche a letter, as Willyam Sommer hymſelf, could not make a better for that purpoſe. Some will thynke and ſweare it to, that there was neuer any ſoche thing written: well, I will not force any manne to beleue it, but I will ſaie thus moche, and abide by it to, the like haue been made heretofore, and praiſed aboue the Moone.

A letter diuiſed by a Lincolneſhire man, for a voide benefice, to a gentleman, that then waited vpõ the lorde Chauncellour, for the tyme beyng.

Vnke horne terme.

Ponderyng, erpẽding, and reuoluting with my ſelf, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie, for mundane affaires: I can not but celebrate and extolle your magnificalle derteritie, aboue all other. For how could you haue adepted ſoche illuſtrate prerogatiue, and domeſticall ſuperiorite, if the fecunditie of your ingenie, had not been ſo fertile, and wonderfull pregnaunt. Now therefore, beyng accerſited, to ſoche ſplendent renoume, and dignitie ſplendidious: I doubt not but you will adiuuate ſoche poore adnichilate orphanes, as whilome ware condiſciples with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolne ſhire. Emong whom, I beyng a ſcholaſticall panion, obteſtate your ſublimitie, to extoll myne infirmitie. There is a ſacerdotall dignitie, in my native coun-

trey, contiguate to me, where I nowe contemplate: whiche your worshipfull benignitie, could sone impetrate for me, if it would like you, to extende your studies, and collaude me in theim, to the right honourable lorde Chauncellour, or rather Archigrammacian of Englande. You knowe my literature, you knowe the pastoral promocion, I obtestate your clemencie, to inuigilate thus moche for me, accordyng to my confidēce, and as you knowe my condigne merites, for soche a compendious liuyng. But nowe a relinquishe, to fatigate your intelligence, with any more friuolous verbositie, and therfore, he that rules the climates, be euermore your beautreur, your fortresse, and your bulwarke. Amen.

Dated at my Dome, or rather Pansion place, in Lincolnshire, the penulte of the moneth Sertile. *Anno Millimo, quillimo, trillimo.* *Per me Iohannes Octo.*

What wiseman reading this letter, will not take him for a very Caulfe, that made it in good earnest, and thought by his vnkepot termes, to get a good Parsonage. Doth wit rest in straunge wordes, or els standeth it in wholsome matter, and apt declaring of a mannes minde? Do we not speake, because wee would haue other to vnderstande vs, or is not the tongue giuen for this ende, that one might knowe, what an other meaneth? And what vnlearned man cā tel, what halfe this letter signifieth? Therefore, either we must make a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned Englishe, and other some is rude Englishe, or thone is court talke, thother is countrie speache, or els we muste of necessitie, banishe all soche affected Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of language. When I was in Cābrige, and student in the kinges College, there came a man out of the toune, with a pint of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the ponoft of that hous, that lately came frō the court. And because he would bestow his presente like a clerke, dwellyng emong the Scholers: he made hūbly his three curtesies, and saied in this maner. Cha good euen my good lorde, and well might your lordship vare vnderstandyng that your lordship was come, and knowyng that you are a worshipfull Pilate, and keepes a bominable hous: I thought it my duetie to come incantiuante, & bryng you a pottell of wine, the whiche I beseche your Lordshippe take in good worthe. Here the simple man, beyng desirous

to

to amende his mothers tongue, shewyng hymself not to bee the wisest man, that euer spake with tongue.

An other good fellowe of the countrey, beyng an officer, and Maior of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauyng iuste occasion, to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, saied after this wise, in a greate heate. Thou yngram and vacation knaue, if I take thee any more, within the circumcision of my dampnation: I will so corrupt thee, that all vacation knaues, shall take ilsample by thee. Koperite chidyng.

An other standyng in moche nede of money, and desirous to haue some helpe, at a gentlemannes hand, made his complainte in this wise. I praie you sir, bee so good vnto me, as forbeare this halfe yeres rent. For so helpe me God and halidome, we are so taken on, with contrary Bishops, with reuines, and with Southsides to the kyng, that all our money is cleane gone. These wordes he spake for contribucion, relief, and Subsidie. And thus we see, that poore simple men are moche troubled, and talke oftentymes, thei knowe not what, for lacke of witte, and wante of Latine and Frenche, wherof many of our straunge wordes, full often are derined Those therfore, that will eschue this folie, and acquaint thē selues with the best kinde of speache, must seke from tyme to tyme, soche wordes as are commonly receiued, and soche as properly maie expresse in plaine maner, the whole conceipte of their minde. And loke what wordes we best vnderstande, and knowe what thei meane: thesame should soonest bee spoken, and first applied, to the vtteraunce of our purpose.

Now, whereas wordes be receiued, aswell Greke as Latine, to set forthe our meanyng in the Englishe tong, either for lacke of store, or els bicause wee would enriche the language: it is well doen to vse theim, and no man therein can be charged for any affectacion, when all other are agreed to followe thesame waie. There is no man agreued, when he heareth (letters patentes) and yet patentes is Latine, and signifieth open to all men. The Communion is a fellowship, or a commyng together, rather Latine, then Englishe: The kynges prerogatiue, declareth his power roiall aboue all other, & yet I know no man greued for these termes, being vsed in their place, nor yet any one suspected for affectacio, whē soche generall wordes are spoken. The folie is espied, when

either we will vse soche woꝛdes, as fewe men doe vse, oꝛ vse them out of place, when an other might serue moche better. Therfoꝛe, to auoide soche folie, we maie learne of that moste excellente Oꝛatour Tullie, who in his thirde booke, where he speaketh of a perfecte Oꝛatour, declareth vnder the name of Crassus, that foꝛ the choyse of woꝛdes, fower thynges should chiefly bee obserued. First, that soche woꝛdes as we vse, should bee pꝛoper vnto the tongue, wherein we speake, again, that thei be plain, foꝛ al men to perceiue: thirdly, that thei be apte and mete, mooste pꝛoperly to set out the matter. Fowerthly, that woꝛdes translated, from one signification to an other (called of the Grecians, Tropes) be vsed to beautifie the sentence, as pꝛecious stones ar set in a ring, to commende the golde.

Fower thinges obserued, foꝛ choise of woꝛdes.

¶ Aptnesse what it is.

SOche are thought apt woꝛdes, that pꝛoperly agre vnto that thyng, whiche thei signifie, and plainlie expꝛesse the nature of the same. Therfoꝛe, thei that haue regard of their estimacion, doe warely speake, and with choise, vtter woꝛdes moste apt foꝛ their purpose. In waightie causes, graue woꝛdes are thought moste nedefull, that the greatnes of the matter, maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewise of other, like oꝛder must be taken. Albeit some, not onely doe not obserue this kinde of aptnesse, but also thei fall into moche fondnes, by vsyng woꝛdes out of place, and applyng theim to diuers matters, without all discrecion. As thus. An ignoꝛaunt fellowe, commyng to a gentlemannes place, and seyng a great flocke of Shepe in his pasture, saied to the owner of theim, now by my truthe sir, here is as goodly an audience of shepe as euer I sawe in all my life. Who will not take this fellow meter to talke with Shepe, then to speake emong menne?

Aptnesse.

Vnapt vsing of apte woꝛds

An other likewise, seyng a hous faire builded, saied to his fellowe thus: Good Loꝛde, what a handsome phꝛase of buildyng is this? There are good woꝛdes euill vsed, when thei are not well applied, and spoken to good purpose. Therefoꝛe, I wishe that soche vnto warde speakyng, maie giue vs a good lesson, to vse our toungue warely, that our woꝛdes and matter, maie still agree together.

¶ Of Compolicion.

When

When wee haue learned, vsuall and accustomable wooꝛdes, to set foꝛthe our meanyng, we ought to ioyne theim together in apte oꝛder, that the eare maie delite, in hearyng the harmonie. I knowe some Englishemen, that in this poincte haue soche a gifte in the Englishe, as fewe in Latine haue the like, and therfoꝛe, delite the wise and learned so moche, with their pleasaunte composicion: that many reioice, when thei maie heare soche, and thinke moche learnyng is gotte, when thei maie talke with theim. Composicion therefoꝛe, is an apte ioynyng together of wooꝛdes, in soche oꝛder, that neither the eare shall espie any gerre, noꝛ yet any man shall be dulled, with ouerlong dꝛawyng out of a sentence, noꝛ yet moche counfounded with mingeling of clauses, soche as are nedelesse, being heaped together without reason, and vsed without nomber. Foꝛ by soche meanes the hearers will be foꝛced, to foꝛget full oft, what was saied firste, befoꝛe the sentence bee halfe ended: oꝛ els be blinded with confounding of many thinges together. Some again will be so shoꝛte, and in soche wise curtall their sentences, that thei had nede to make a commentary, immediately of their meanyng, oꝛ els the moste that heare theim, shalbe foꝛced to kepe counsaill.

Composicion what it is.

Faultes in composicion.

Some will speake Oꝛacles, that a manne can not telle, whiche waie to take theim, some will be so fine, and so Poeticall with all, that to their semyng, there shall not stand one heire a misse, and yet euery body els, shall thinke theim meter foꝛ a Ladies chamber, then foꝛ an earnest matter, in any open assemblie.

Some will roue so moche, and bable so farre without oꝛder, that a man would thinke, thei had a great loue, to heare theim selues speake.

Some repeate one wooꝛde so often, that if soche wooꝛdes could be eate, and chopt in so oft, as thei are vttered out, thei would choke the widest thꝛote in all Englande. As thus. If a man knewe, what a mannes life wer, no man foꝛ any mãnes sake, would kill any manne, but one man would rather help an other man, cõsideryng man is boꝛne foꝛ man, to help man, and not to hate man. What man would not be choked if he chopt all these men at ones into his mouthe, and neuer dꝛonke after it? Some vse ouermoche repetition, of some one letter,

letter, as pitifull powertie prayeth for a penie, but puffed pre-sumption, passeth not a poinct, pampering his panche, with pestilente pleasure, procuryng his passe porte, to poste it to helle pitte, there to bee punished, with paines perpetuall. Some will so sette their woordes, that thei must be faine, to gape after euery woorde spoken, endyng one woorde with a vowell, and beginnyng the nexte with an other, whiche vn-doubtedly, maketh the talke to seme moste vnpleasaunte. As thus. Equitie alwaiedlie, euery iniurie auoideth. Some will set the Cart before the horse, as thus. My mother and my fa-ther, are bothe at home, euen as though the good man of the house, did weare no breaches, or that the graie Mare, were the better Horse. And what though, it often so happeneth (God wotte the more pitie) yet in speakyng at the least, lette vs kepe a naturall order, and set the man before the woman for maners sake.

An other comyng home in haste, after a longe iourney, saieth to his man: Come hether sir knaue, helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praie you sir, giue hym leaue firste, to plucke of your spurres, ere he meddle with your boo-tes, or els your man is like, to haue a madde plucking. Who is so foolishe as to saie, the Counsaile, and the kyng, but ra-ther the kyng, and his Counsaile, the father, and the sonne, and not contrary. And so likewise in all other, as thei are in degree firste, euermore to set them formoste.

The wise therefore, talking of diuers worthie men toge-ther, will firste name the worthiest, and kepe a decent order, in reportyng of their tale. Some ende their sentences all a-like, making their talke, rather to appere rimed Metre, then to seme plain speache, the whiche as it moche deliteth, being measurably vsed, so it moche offendeth, when no meane is regarded. I heard a Preacher, delityng moche in this kynde of composicion, who vsed so often to ende his sentences, with woordes like vnto that, whiche went before, that in my iud-gement, there was not a dosen sentences, in his whole Ser-mon, but thei ended all in rime, for the moste part. Some not beste disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his ri-med Sermon, he might vse some pleasaunte melodie, and so the people might take pleasure diuers waies, and daunce if thei like. Certes there is a meane, and no reason to vse any

one

one thyng at all tymes, seyng nothyng deliteth (bee it neuer so good) that is alwaies vsed.

Quintilian likeneth the colours of Rhetorique, to a mannes eye sight. And now (quod he) I would not haue all the bodie to be full of eyes, or nothyng but eyes: for then the other partes should want, their due place and proporcion. Some ouerthwartly sette their woordes, placyng some one a mile from his fellowes, not contented with a plaine and easie composicion, but seeke to sette woordes, thei can not tell how, and therefore, one not likyng to be called, and by print published Doctour of Phisicke, would nedes be named a Phisicke doctour, wherein appered a wonderfull composicion (as he thought) straunge vndoubtedly, but whether wise or no, let the learned sitte in iudgement vpon that matter.

An other. As I rose in a mornyng (quod one) I met a Carte full of stones emptie. Belike the man was fasting, when the Carte was full, and yet we se that, through straunge composicion, his sentence appereth darke.

Some will tell one thyng twētie times, now in, now out and when a man would thinke, thei had almoste ended, thei are ready to begin again, as freshe as euer thei were. Suche vaine repeticions declare, bothe waute of witte, and lacke of learnyng. Some are so homely in all their doopnges, and so grosse for their inuēcion, that thei vse altogether one maner of trade, and seke no varietie, to eschue tediousnesse.

Some burden their talke with needelesse copie, and will seme plentifull, when thei should be short. An other is so curious, and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the worlde, what to speake. Euery sentence semeth common, and euery woorde generally vsed, is thought to bee foolishe, in his wise iudgemente. Some vse so many interposicions, bothe in their talke, and in their writyng, that thei make their saiynges as darke as hell. Thus when faultes be knowen, thei maie bee auoided: and vertue the soner maie take place, when vice is forseen, and eschued as euill.

Of Exornacion.

When we haue learned apte woordes, and vsuall phrases, to sette foorthe our meanyng, and can orderlie place theim, without offence to the eare, wee maie boldly

boldly commende, and beautifie our talke, with diuers goodly colours, and delitefull translacions, that our speache may seme as bright and precious, as a riche stone is faire & orient

Eroynacion.

Eroynacion, is a gorgious beautifyng of the tongue with borowed wordes, and chaunge of sentence or speache, with moche varietie. Firste therefore (as Tullie saieth) an oracion is made to seme right excellente, by the kinde self, by the colour and iuice of speache.

Thre maner of stiles or enditynges.

There are three maner of stiles or enditynges, the greate or mightie kinde, when we vse greate wordes, or behement figures.

The small kinde, when we moderate our heate, by meaner wordes, and vse not the moste stirryng sentences.

The lowe kinde, when we vse no Metaphores, nor translated wordes, nor yet vse any amplificacions, but go plainly to worke, and speake altogether in common wordes. Now in all these three kindes, the Oracion is moche commended, and appereth notable, when we kepe vs still to that stile, whiche we firste professed, and vse suche wordes, as seme for that kind of writing moste conuenient. Yea, if we minde to encrease, or diminishe: to bee in a heate, or to vse moderacion. To speake pleasauntly, or gravely: To bee sharpe, or soft: to talke lordlie, or to speake finelie: to ware auncient, or familiare (whiche all are comprehended, vnder one of the other three:) we must euer make our wordes apte, and agreable to that kinde of stile, whiche we firste began to vse. For as Frenche hodes doe not become lordes: so Parliament robes are vnfittyng for Ladies. Comelinesse therefore, muste euer bee vsed, and all thinges obserued, that are moste mete for euery cause, if we looke by attemptes, to haue our desire.

Coronacion by colours of Rhetorique.

There is an other kinde of Eroynacion, that is not agally sparpled, throughout the whole oracion, but is so disseuered and parted, as starres stande in the firmament, or flowers in a garde, or prette deuised antiques in a cloth of araise.

What a figure is.

A Figure is a certaine kynde, either of sentence, Oracion, or worde, vsed after some new or straunge wise, moche vnlike to that, whiche men commonly vse to speake.

The

¶ The deuision of Figures.

THere are thꝛee kindes of figures, the one is, when the nature of woꝛdes is chaunged, from one signification to an other, called a Trope of the Grecias: The other seruеth foꝛ woꝛdes, when thei are not chaunged by nature, but onely altered by speakyng, called of the Grecians a Scheme: The third is, when by diuersitie of inuencion, a sentēce is many waies spoken, and also matters are amplified, by heappng examples, by dilatyng argumentes, by comparyng of thynges together, by similitudes, by contraries, and by diuers other like, called by Tullie Exoꝛnacion of sentences, oꝛ colours of Rhetoꝛique.

By all whiche Figures, euery Oꝛacion maie bee moche beautified, and without thesame, not one can attaine to bee coumpted an Oꝛatour, though his learnyng otherwise bee neuer so greate.

¶ Of the first vse of Tropes.

WHen learned and wise menne, gan first to enlarge their tongue, and sought with greate vtteraunce of speache, to commende causes: thei found full oft moche want of woꝛdes, to set out their meaning. And therefoꝛe, remembꝛyng thynges of like nature, vnto those whereof thei speake: thei vsed soche woꝛdes, to expꝛesse their mynde, as were moste like vnto other. As foꝛ example. If I should speake againste some notable Pharisie. I might vse translacion of woꝛdes in this wise: Ponder manne is of a croked iudgement, his wittes are cloudie, he liueth in deepe darkenesse, dusked altogether with blinde ignoꝛaunce, and doꝛouned in the ragyng Sea, of bottomelesse Superstition. Thus is the ignoꝛaunte set out, by calling him croked, cloudie, darcke, blinde, and doꝛounde in superstition. All whiche woꝛdes are not pꝛoper vnto ignoꝛaunce, but boꝛowed of other thynges, that are of like nature vnto ignoꝛaunce. Foꝛ, the vnskilfull manne, hath his witte sette out of oꝛder, as a mannes bodie is set out of ioynte, and thereupon it maie bee saied to be crooked. Likewise he maie bee called cloudie, foꝛ as the cloudes kepe the Sonne shinyng from vs, so doeth his ignoꝛaunce keepe hym blyndfolde, from the true vndestandyng of thynges. And as when the tyes are out, no manne can see any thing: So, when perfecte iudgement is wanting

Tropes how thei wer first founded.

the

the truthe can not bee knowen. And so likewise of all other. Thus as necessitie hath forced vs, to borowe woordes translated: So hath tyme and practise, made theim to seme moste pleasaunt, and therefore, thei are moche the rather vsed. Yea when a thyng full oft, can not be expressed, by an apt and mete woorde, we doe perceiue (when it is spoken by a woorde translated) that the likenesse of that thing, whiche appereth in an other woorde, moche lightneth that, whiche we would moste gladly haue perceiued.

And not onely doe men vse, translacion of woordes (called Tropes) for nede sake, when thei can not finde other: but also when thei maie haue moste apt woordes at hand, yet will thei of a purpose, vse translated woordes. And the reason is this. Menne coumpt it a poincte of witte, to passe ouer soche woordes as are at hande, and to vse soche as are farre fetcht, and translated: or els it is, bicause the hearer is ledde by cogitacion, vpon rehearsal of a Metaphore, and thinketh more by remembraunce of a woorde translated, then is there expressely spoken: or els bicause the whole matter, semeth by a similitude to be opened: or last of all, bicause euery translacion is commonly, and for the moste parte referred, to the senses of the bodie, and especially to the sense of seeyng, whiche is the sharpest and quickest aboue all other. For, when I shall saie that an angrie man fometh at the mouthe, I am brought in remembraunce by this translacion, to remember a Bore, that in fightyng, vseth moche fomyng, the whiche is a foule and a lothly sight. And I cause other to thinke, that he brake pacience wonderfully, when I set out his rage, comparable to a Bores fomyng.

An other beyng offended with checkes giuen, will saie, I marualle sir what you meane, to bee euer snarryng at me, wherein is declared a brutishnes, considering he speaketh bityng woordes, and moche without reason, and as vncomely as a dogge doeth, when he snarreth, the whiche we se is nothyng semely. There is nothyng in all the worlde, but the same maie haue the name of some other woorde, the whiche by some similitude is like vnto it. Notwithstandyng, there ought moche wareneſſe to bee vsed, in chosyng of woordes translated, that the same be not vnlike that thing, whereunto it is applied, nor yet that the translacion bee vncomely, or

soche

soche as maie giue occasion, of any vncleane meanyng.

¶ A Trope.

A Trope, is an alteracion of a woorde or sentence, from the proper signification, to that, whiche is not proper. Trope what it is.

¶ The diuision of Tropes.

Tropes, are either of a woorde, or a long continued speach or sentence. Diuision of Tropes.

Tropes of a woorde are these.

- A Metaphore or translacion of woordes.
- A woorde makyng.
- Intellection.
- Abusion.
- Transmutation of a woorde.
- Transumption.
- Chaunge of a name.
- Circumlocution.

Tropes of a long continued speache or sentences, are these.

- An Allegorie, or inuersion of woordes.
- Mountyng.
- Resemblyng of thynges.
- Similitude.
- Example.

¶ What is a Metaphore.

A Metaphore, is an alteracion of a woorde, from the proper and naturall meanyng, to that, whiche is not proper, and yet agreeth thereunto, by some likenesse, that appereth to be in it. Metaphora.

An oracion is wonderfully enriched, when apt Metaphores are got, and applied to the matter. Neither can any one perswade affectuously, and winne men, by waight of his oracion, without the helpe of woordes, altered and translated.

¶ The diuersitie of translacions.

First, we alter a woorde from that, whiche is in the minde, to that, whiche is in the body. As when we perceiue one that hath begiled vs, we vse to saie: Ah sirrha, I am gladdе I haue smelled you out. Beyng greued with a matter, we saie commonlie, we can not digest it. The Lawier receiuyng money, more then ne-

deth oftentymes, will saie to his Client, without any translacion. I feele you well, when the poore man thinketh, that he dooeth well vnderstande his cause, and will helpe hym to some good ende. For, so commonly we saie, when we know a mannes mynde in any thyng. This kinde of mutacion is moche vsed, when we talke earnestly of any matter.

¶ From the creature without reason, to that, wyche hath reason.

The second kinde of translacion is, when we go from the creature without reason, to that, whiche hath reason, or contrarie from that, whiche hath reason, to that, whiche hath no reason. As if I should saie, soche an vnreasonable brauler, did nothyng els but barke like a dog, or like a Fore. Women are said to chatter, churles to grunt boies to whine, and young men to yelle. Contrariwise, we call a Fore false, a Lion proude, and a Dogge flatteryng.

¶ From the liuyng, to that, whiche hath no life.

From the liuyng, to the not liuyng, wee vse many translacions. As thus. You shall praie for all men, dispersed throughout the face of the yearth. The arme of a Tree. The side of a bancke. The lande crieth for vengeaunce. From the liuyng, to the not liuyng. Hatred buddeth emong malicious men, his woordes flewe out of his mouthe. I haue a whole worlde of businesse.

In obseruing the worke of nature, in al seuerall substances, we maie finde translacions at will, then the whiche, nothing is more profitable for any one, that mindeth by his vtterance, to stirre the hartes of men, either one waie or other.

Woorde makyng.

A Woorde makyng, called of the Grecians *Onomatopeia*, is when we make woordes of our owne mynde, soche as bee deriued from the nature of thynges. As to call one Patche, or Cowlson, whom we se to dooe a thyng foolishly, bicause these twoo in their time, were notable fooles. Or when one is lustie, to saie Taratauntara, declaryng thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delitefull, and stirring: or when one would seme galaunte, to crie hoigh, whereby also is declared courage. Boies beyng greued, will saie some one to an other: Sir, I will cappe you, if you vse me thus, and with holde that from me, whiche is myne owne: meaning that he will take his cap from him. Again, when we se one gaie and galaunt, we vse to saie, he courtes it (or one that reasoned in

diuinitie

Diuinitie with his fellowe, I like well to reason, but I can not chappe these textes in Scripture, if I should die for it: meanyng that he could not tell in what Chapiter, thynges wer conteined, although he knewe full well, that ther were suche saiynges.

Intellection.

INtellection, caled of the Grecians, *Synecdoche*, is a Trope, whē we gather or iudge, the whole by the part, or part, by the whole. As thus: The king is come to London, meanyng therby that other also be come with him. The Frenche manne is good to kepe a fort, or to skirmishe on horsbacke, whereby we declare the Frenchmen generally. By the whole, the part, thus. All Cambridge sorowed for the death of Bucer, meanyng the moste parte. All England reioiseth that Pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrie for euer abolished: and yet al England is not gladde but the moste parte. Intellection.

The like phrases are in the scripture, as when the Pagians came to Hierusalem, and asked where he was, that was borne kyng of the Iewes. Herode starte vp, being greatly troubled, and all the Citee of Hierusalem with him, and yet all the citee was not troubled, but the moste parte. By the signe we vnderstande the thing signified, as by an Iuie garland, we iudge there is wine to sell. By the signe of a Bear, Bull, Lion, or any suche, we take any hous to bee an Inne. By eating breade at the Communion, we remember Christes death, and by faithe receiue him spirituallie.

Abusion.

ABusion, called of the Grecians *Catechresis*, is when for a certaine proper woorde, wee vse that whiche is moste nigh vnto it: As in calling some water, a fishe Pond, though there be no fishe in it at al: or els when we sate, here is long talke, and small matter. Whiche are spoken vnproperlie, for we can not measure, either talke, or matter by lenghth, or breadth. Abusion.

Transmutation of a woorde.

TRansmutacion helpeth moche for varietie, the whiche is, when a woorde hath a proper signification of the owne, and being referred to an other thing, hath an other meanyng, the Grecians call it *Metonymia*, the which is diuers wales vsed. When we vse the author of a thyng, Trāsmutacio

for

for the thing self. As thus. Put vpon you the lorde Iesus Christe, that is to saie, be in liuyng soche a one, as he was. The Pope is banished Englande, that is to saie, all his superstition, and hypocrisie, either is, or should be gone to the Deuill, by the kynges expresse will, and commaundement.

iij. Againe, when that whiche dooeth conteine, is vsed for that, whiche is cõteined. As thus. I haue dronke an Hoggeshead this weeke: Heauen maie reioice, and Helle maie lamente, when olde men are not coueteous. Contrarywise, when the thing conteined, is vsed for the thing conteinyng. As thus. I praie you come to me, that is to saie, come to my hous.

iiij. Fowerthlie, when by the efficiẽt cause, the effecte is straight gathered thereupon. As thus. The Sunne is vp, that is to saie, it is daie. This felowe is good with a long bowe, that is to saie, he shuteth well.

Transumpcion.

TRansumpcion is, when by degrees we goe to that, whiche is to be shewed. As thus: Soche a one lieth in a darke doungeon, nowe in speakyng of darkenesse, we vnderstande closenesse, by closenesse, wee gather blacknesse, and by blacknesse, we iudge depenesse.

Chaunge of name.

Antonomasia.

CHaunge of name, is whẽ for the proper name, some name of an Office, or other calling is vsed. As thus: the Prophete of God saieth: Blessed are thei, whose sinnes be not imputed vnto theim, meaning Dauid. The Poeta saieth: It is a vertue, to eschue vice, wherein I vnderstande Horace.

Circumlocucion.

Periphrasis.

CIrcumlocucion is, a large discripcion, either to sette forthe a thing more gorgeously, or els to hide it, if the eares can not beare the open speaking: or when with fewe wordes, we can not open our meaninge, to speake it more largelye. Of the firste thus. The valiaunt courage of mighty Scipio, subdued the force of Carthage and Numantia. Henry the fiueth, the moste puissaunt king of England, with seuen thousande men, toke the Frenche king prisoner with all the flower of nobilitie in Fraunce. Of the seconde. When Saule was easing himself vpon the grounde, Dauid tooke a perce of his garment, toke his weapon that laie

by

by him, and might haue slaine him. Soche a one defiled his bodie with soche an euill woman. For the thirde parte, the large commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus Englished: are sufficient to shewe the vse thereof.

What is an Allegorie.

An Allegory is none other thing, but a Metaphore, vsed throughout a whole sentence, or Oracion. As in speaking againste a wicked offendour, I might saie thus. Oh Lorde, his nature was so euill, and his wit so wickedlie bente, that he meant to bouge the ship, where he himself sailed, meaning that he purposed the destruccion of his own coũtry. It is euill putting strong wine into weake vesselles, that is to saie, it is euill trusting some women wt weightie matters. The Englishe Prouerbes gathered by Iohn Heiwoode, helpe well in this behaulfe, the whiche commonlie are nothing els but Allegories, & darcke deuised sentences. Now for the other fower figures, bicause I minde hereafter to speake more largelie of them, & Quintilian thinketh them more meete to be placed, emong the figures of Ornacion, I will not trouble the reader with double inculcacion, and twise telling of one tale.

Of Schemes, called otherwise sentences of a woorde and sentence.

I Might tary a longe time, in declaring the nature of diuers Schemes, whiche are woordes or sentencies altered, either by speaking, or writting, contrarie to the vulgare custome of our speache, without chaunging their nature at all: but bicause I knowe the vse of the figures in woorde, is not so greate in this our tongue, I will run them ouer, with as moche haste as I can. Scheme, what it is.

The deuision of Schemes.

Straunge vsyng of any woorde or Sentence, contrarie to our daily wont, is either when we adde, or take awaie a sillable, or a woorde, or encrease a Sentence by chaunge of speache, contrarie to the common maner of speaking.

Figures of a woorde.

Those be called figures of a woorde, when we chãge a woorde, & speake it contrary to our vulgare, and daiely speache. Of the whiche sorte, there are fiue in nomber.

i. Addiction at the first.
ii. Abstraccion from the first.
iii. Interlacing in the middest.
iiij. Cutting from the middest.
v. Adding at the ende.
vi. Cuttyng from the ende.

Prosthesis. F Addicion. As thus: He did all to berattle hym. Wherein appeareth that a sillable is added to this word (rattle.) Here is good nale to sel, for good ale.

Apheresis. Of Abstraccion from the first, thus. As I romed all alone, I gan to thinke of matters greate. In which sentence (gan) is used, for began.

Epenthesis. Interlacing in the middest. As. Kelligion, for Religion.

Syncope. Cutting from the middest. Idolatrie, for Idololatris.

Proparalepsis Adding at the ende. Haften your businesse, for, Hast your businesse.

Apocope. Cuttyng from the ende. A faire maie, for maide.

Thus these figures are shortlie set out, as for the other Schemes, which are uttered in whole sentences and expressed by varietie of speache: I will set them forth at large emong the colours and ornamentes of Elocucion, that folowe.

Of colours and ornamentes, to commende and sette forthe an Oracion.

Colours of Rhetorique. Wo, when we are able to frame a sentence handesomelie together, obseruyng nomber, and keepyng composicion, sothe as shall like best the eare, and doe knowe the use of Tropes, and can applie them to our purpose: then the ornamentes are necessary in an Oracion, and sentences would be furnished with most beautifull figures. Therefore, to the ende that they maye be knowen, sothe as moste commende and beautifie an Oracion: I will set them forthe here in sothe wise, as I shall beste bee able, folowing thorder, whiche Tullie hath used in his boke, made of a perfecte Orator.

Restyng upon a poincte.

Commoratio. When we are earnest in a matter, & feele the weight of our cause, we rest upon some reason, whiche serueth best for our purpose. Wherein this figure appereth moste, and helpeth moch to set forth our matter. For if we still kepe us to our strongest holde, and make ofter re-

course

course thither, though we be driuen through bitalke to goo from it now and then: we shall force thē at length, either to auoide our strong defence, or els to yeld into our handes.

An euident, or plain setting forthe of a thing as though it were presently doen.

This figure is called a discripciō, or an euidente declaraciō of a thing, as though we sawe it euē now doen. An example: If our enemies shall inuade, & by treason win the victorie, we all shall die euery mothers sonne of vs, and our citee shalbe destroied stick and stone. I se our children made slaues, our daughters rauished our wiues caried awaie; the father forced to kill his owne soonne, the mother her daughter, the soonne his father, the sucking child slain in ẏ mothers bosome, one standing to the knees in an others blood, Churches spoiled, houses pluckte doune, and all set in fire round about vs, euery one cursyng the daie of their birth, children crying, women wailing, and olde men passing for verie thought, and euery one thinking himself moste happie, that is first rid out of this world, soche will the crueltie be of our enemies, and with soche horrible hatred, will thei seke to dispatche vs. Thus, where I might haue saied, we shal all be destroied, and saie no more, I haue by descripcion set the euill forth at large. It moche auaileth to vse this figure in diuers matters, the whiche whosoeuer can doe, with any excellent gift, vndoubtedly he shall moche delite the hearers. The circumstaunces well considered in euery cause, giue moche matter, for the plain opening of the thinge. Also similitudes, examples, comparisons, from one thing to an other, apte translations, and heaping of allegories and all soche figures, as serue for amplifiyng, do moche commende the liuely setting forth of any matter. The miseries of the courtiers life, might well bee described by this kinde of figure. The commoditie of learning, the pleasure of plowe men, and the care that a kyng hath. And not onelie are matters set out by descripcion, but men are painted out in their colours, yea, buildinges are set forthe, kingdomes, and realmes are portured, places, and times are described. The Englishman for feding, and changing for apparel: The Ducheman for drinking: The Frencheman for pride and inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes of bydy, and

Illestris explanatio.

Descriptiō of outrge, after a battaile.

Diuersitee of natures.

moche disdain: the Italian for great witte and pollicie: The Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.

Many people are described by their degree, as a man of good yeres, is coumpted sober, wise, and circumspect: a yong man wilde, and careleſſe: a woman babbling, inconstaunte, and readie to beleue all that is tolde her.

By vocation of life, a Souldiour is coumpted a greate bragger, and a vaunter of himself: a Scholer simple: a Russet coate, sadde, and sometymes craftie: a Courtier, flattering: a Citezein sentle.

Description of persones.

In describyng of persones, there ought allwaies a comelinesse to be vsed, so that nothing be spoken, whiche maie be thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the firth, he might call him sentle, milde of nature, ledde by perswasion, and readie to forgiue, careleſſe for wealthe, suspecting none, merciſull to all, fearfull in aduersitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortune. Again, for Richard the thirde, I might bryng hym in, cruell of harte, ambicious by nature, enuious of minde, a deepe dissembler, a close manne for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge, and fearfull to lose his high estate, trustie to none, liberalle for a purpose, tasting still the worste, and hoping euer the beste. By this figure also wee imagine a talke, for some one to speake, and according to his persone, wee frame the Oracion. As if one should bring in noble Henry the eight, of moste famous memorie to enueigh against rebelles, thus he might order his Oracion. What if Henry the eight were a liue, and sawe soche rebellion in this Realme, would not he sate thus, and thus? Yea, me thinkes I heare him speake euen now. And so set forthe soche wordes, as we would haue him to sate.

Sometimes it is good to make GOD, the Countrey, or some one Toune to speake, and looke what wee would sate in our owne persone, to frame the whole tale to them. Soch varietie dooeth moche good to auoide tediousnesse, for he that speaketh all in one sorte, though he speake thinges neuer so wittelie, shall sone wearie his hearers. Figures therfore were inuented, to auoide satietie, and cause delite: to refreshe with pleasure, and quicken with grace, the dulnesse of mannes braine. Who will loke of a whit waull, an houre together, where no woorke manship is at all? Or who will

The vse of figures.

sate

eate still one kinde of meate, and neuer desire chaunge: Certes as the mouthe is daintie: so the witte is tickle, and will sone lothe an vnsauery thing.

A stop, or haulse tellyng of a tale.

A Stop is, whē we breake of our tale, before we haue tolde it. As thus. Thou that art a young man of soche towardnes, hauing soche frends, to play me soche a parte, well, I will saie no more, God amēd all that is a misse. Or thus. Doeth it become thee to be, shall I tell all: Naie, I will not for verie shame. *Precisio.*

A close vnderstandyng.

A Close vnderstandyng is, when more maie be gathered, then is openlie expresse. A naughtie fellow that vsed moche robberie, founde hymself greued, that the greate Orator Demosthenes, spente so moche Oyle, whereby he watched from tyme to tyme, in cōpassyng matters for the common weale: In deede (q Demosthenes, darcke nightes are best for thy purpose, meanyng that he was a greate robber in the night. *Significatio plus ad intelligendū quā dixeris.* *Demosthenes.*

One also beyng set in a heate, because an other had contraried him, for the choise of meates, was moche more greued, when he gaue him this taunt. You maie boldlie (q he) speake for suche eating, for my maister your father, hath many a tyme and ofte, wipte his nose vpon his sleeue: meaning that his father was a Fishemonger.

Shorte sentences.

When thorte clauses, or sentences are vsed, when wee speake at a woorde, parte of our mynde, and nert after speake as briefle againe, byng to make almoste euery woorde a perfecte sentence. As thus. The manne is sore wounded, I feare me he will die. The Phisitions mistrust him: the partie is fiedde, none persueth: God sende vs good lucke. *Distincte cōcisa breuitas*

Abatyng, or lessenyng of a thyng.

WE make our doynges appeare lesse, when with woordes wee extenuate and lessen thesame. As whē one had giuen his fellowe a sounde blowe, beyng rebuked for thesame, said he scant touched hym. Likewise, whē twoo haue fought together, to saie, that the one had his leg pyct wō a swoord, when perchaunce he had a greate wounde. *Extenuatio.*

Wittie iesting.

Illusio,

Many pleasante gentlemen are well practised in merie conceited iestes, and haue bothe suche grace and delite therein, that they are wonderfull to beholde, and better were it to be sharply chid of diuers other then pleasaunlie taunted by any of the. When a gentleman of greate landes and small witte, had talked largelie at a supper, and spake wordes scant worth the hearing, an other being moche greued with his folie, saied to him: Sir, I haue taken you for a plain meaning gentleman, but I knowe now, there is not a more deceiptful body in all England: with that, other being greued with the yong gentlemannes folie, boldlie began to excuse hym for deceipt, and therefore saied, he was to blame, to charge him with that fault, considering his nature was simple, and fewe can saye, that euer he was craftie. Well (q the other) I must nedes saie, he is deceipfull, for I toke him heretofore for a sober witty young mā, but now I perceiue, he is a foolishe babling felowe, & therfore I am sure he hath deceiued me, like a false craftie childe, as he is: with that thei all laughed, and the gentleman was moche abashed. But as touchyng sharpe tauntes, I haue largely declared them in place, where I treated of laughter.

Digression, or swarupng from the matter.

Digressio a re non longa.

We swarue sometimes from the matter, vpon iuste considerations, makyng thesame to serue for ouer purpose, as well, as if we had kept the matter still. As in making an inuectiue against rebelles, and largelie setting out the filthe of their offence; I might declare by the waie of digression, what a noble countrey England is, howe greate commodities it hath, what traffique here is vsed, and how moche more nede other Realmes haue of vs, then we haue nede of them. Or when I shall giue euidence, or rather declame against an hainous murtherer, I maie digresse from the offence doen, and enter in praise of the dedde manne, declaring his vertues in moste ample wise, that the office doen, maie be thought so moche the greater, the more honest he was, that hath thus been slain. Notwithstanding, this would be learned, that (whē we make any suche digression) thesame maie well agree to the purpose, and bee so set out, that it confunde not the cause, or darken the sense of the matter deuised.

Propo-

Proposition.

PRoposition is a short rehersall of that, whereof wee mynde to speake. I will tell you (q̃ one) there is none hath a worse name then thie felowe, none hath been so often in trouble, he maie be faultelesse, but I can hardely beleue it, there are enowe that will testifie of his naughtinesse, and auouche his euill demeanour to be suche that the like hath not been hard heretofore. *Propositio quid sit dicturus.*

An ouer passage to an other matter.

WHen we go from one matter to an other, we vse this kynde of Phrase. I haue told you the cause of al this euill, nowe I will tell you a remedye for thesame. You haue heard of iustificatiõ by faith onely, now yow shal here of the dignitee of workes, and howe necessary they are for euery christian body. *Seiunctio ab eo quod dictum est.*

Of commyng again to the matter.

WHen wee haue made a digression, wee maie declare our returne, and shewe that wheras we haue roued a litle, wee will now kepe vs within our boundes. In this kynd of digression, it is wisedome not to wander ouer farre, for feare wee shall werie the heares, before wee come to the matter againe. I knewe a preacher that was a whole houre out of his matter, and at lenght remembryng hymself, saied, well, now to the purpose, as though all that, whiche he had spoken before, had been litle to the purpose, wherat many laughed, and some for starke wearinesse were fain to go a waye. *Reditus ad propositum.*

Iteratyng and repeatyng thinges said before.

WHen a man hath largely spoken his mynd, he may repeate in fewe wordes, the somme of his saiyng. As if one should be charged with felonie, that is a man of welth and honestie, he might thus gather his mynd together after a long tale told. First, I will proue there is no cause that I should steale, againe, that I coulde not possible at suche a tyme steale, and last, that I stole not at all. *Iteratio.*

The conclusion or lappyng vp of matter.

THe conclusion, is an apt knitting together of that, which we haue said before. As thus. If reason can perswade, if exãples maie moue, if necessitee maie helpe, if pitee may prouoke, if daungers foreseen, *Rationis apta conclusio.*

may stirre vs to be wise: I doubt not but you will rather vse sharpe lawes, to represse offendours, the with dissolute negligence, suffer all to perishe.

Mountyng aboue the truthe.

Veritatis superlacio, atque traiectio.

Mountyng aboue the truthe, is when wee doe sette forth things exceedyngly aboue all mennes expectation, meanyng onely that they are very great. As thus, god promised to Abraham, that he would make his posteritee, egual with the sandes of the yearth. Now it was not so said, that there should be so many in dede, but that the number should bee infinite. For whether we shal vnderstād those, to bee the children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in flesh, or els take the for the childrē of Abraham, that haue the faithe of Abraham: we shall neuer proue the nomber of men, to bee egual with the sandes of sea, though we could reken all that haue been, from the beginnyng of the world. Therfore in this speache, wee muste vnderstande ther is a mountyng, called of the Grecians *hyperbole*, wee vse this figure much in English. As thus. He is as swift as a swalow, he hath a belly as bigge as a barrell, he is a giaunt in makyng. The whole Temese is little enough to serue hym, for washyng his handes. In all whiche speaches we mounte euermore a greate deale, and not meane so as the wordes are spoken.

Askyng other, and answeryng our self.

Rogatio.

By askyng other, and answeryng to the question our self, we much commende the matter, and make it appere very pleasaūt. If I would rebuke one that hath committed a robberie, I might saie thus, I wounder what you ment to commit suche felonie. Haue you not landes? I knowe you haue. Are not your frendes worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Were you not beloued of them? No doubt you were. Could you haue wanted any thyng that they had? If you would haue eaten gold, you might haue had it. Did not they alwayes bid you seeke to them, and to none other? I knowe they did. What euill happe had you then to offende in suche sorte, not goyng to your frendes, which would not see you want, but seking for that, whiche you should not haue, endaungeryng your self by vntrue dealyng, to fele the power and strength of a lawe, when otherwise you might haue liued

ned in sauegarde?

The like kynd of wryting is also vsed, when we make an other body to speake, and yet not aske them any questiõ at al As when D. Haddon had comforted the Duches of Suffolkes grace for her children, & had said they wer happily gone, because they might haue fallen hereafter, and lost that worthy name, whiche at their death they had: at last he bringeth in the mother, speaking motherlike, in her childrens behalfe of this sort, and answereth still to her sayings. But al these euilles whereof you speake (q he) hadde not chaunced: Yet suche thinges doo chaunce. Yet not alwayes: Yet full ofte. Yet not to al: Yet to a great many. Yet thei had not chaunced to myne: Yet we knowe not. Yet I might haue hoped: Yet better it had been to haue feared.

Snappishe askyng.

WE doe aske oftentymes, because we would knowe: wee doe aske also, because we would chide, and sette forthe our grief with more vehemencie, the one is called *Interrogatio*, the other is called *Percontatio*. Tullie enuieghyng against Catiline, that Romaine rebel, beginneth his oration chidyngly, questioning with Catiline of this sorte. How long (Catiline) wilt thou abuse our sufferaunce? How long wil this rage and madnesse of thine goo about to deceiue vs? *Percontatio.*

Dissemblyng or close iesting.

WHen we iest closely, and with dissembling means, grigge our felow, when in wordes we speake one thyng, & meane in hart an other thyng, declaryng either by our countenaunce, or by vtteraunce, or by some other waie, what our whole meaning is. As when we se one boastyng himself, and vain glorious, to hold him vp with ye and naie, and euer to ad more to that, which he saieth. As I knowe one that saied hymself, to be in his awn iudgemente one of the best in all England, for tryng of metalles, & that the counsaill hath often called for his helpe, & cannot want hym for nothing. In deede (q another) England had a sore losse, if God should call you. Thei are al Bungelers in comparaison of you, and I thinke the best of theim, may Thank you for all that he hath: but yet sir your cunnyng was such, that you brought a shillyng to nyne pence, nay to fyue pence and *Dissimulatio alia dicentis ac significantis.*

and agrote to two pence, and so gaue him a frumpe, euen to his face, bicause he sawe him so foolish. A glorious gentlemã that had twoo seruauntes, and belike would be knowen not onely to haue them, but also to haue mo, said in the presence of a worshipfull man, I meruaile moche where all my seruauntes are? Marie sir (quoth one) that thoughte to hitte hym home: thei wer here al two, euẽ now. Thus he cloſly mockt hym, and worthely. For, the nomber is not great, that standeth vpõ. y. and (all) is to much, when we speake of so fewe.

Doubtfulneſſe.

Dubitatio. DOubtfulneſſe is then vsed, whẽ we make the hearers beleue that the weight of our matter causeth vs to doubt, what were beſte to speake. As when a kyng findeth his people vnfaithful, he maie speake in this wise. Before I begin, I doubt what to name ye. Shall I call you subiectes? You deserue it not. My frendes ye are not. To cal you enemies wer ouer litle, because your offence is so great. Rebelles you are, and yet that name doeth not fully vtter your folie. Traitors I maye cal you, and yet you are worſe then traitors, for you seke his death, who hath giuen you life. Thoffence is so great, that no man can comprehend it. Therfore I doubt what to call you, except I should call you by the name of them all. An other. Whether shall I speake, or holde my peace? If I speake, you will not heare, if I hold my peace, my conſcience condempneth my silence.

Diſtribution.

Diſtributio. DIſtribucion, is whẽ we apply to euery body, suche thinges as are due vnto them, declaringe what euery one is in his vocation. It is the duetie of a kyng, to haue an especiall care ouer his whole realme. It is thoffice of his nobles, to cause the kynges will to be fulfilled, and with all diligence to further his Lawes, and to se iuſtice doen euery where.

It is the parte of a subiecte, faithfully to doe his princes commaundement, and wyth a willynge hart to serue hym at all nedes.

It is the office of a biſhop to setfurthe Gods worde, and with all diligẽce to exhort men to al godlineſſe. It is an husbandes duetie to loue his wife, and with gentle meanes to rule her. It is the wifes office, bũbly to submit her self to her husbands

husbands wil. Seruauntes should be faithfull to their maisters, not onely for feare of a law, but also for cõscience sake. Maisters should vse their seruants accordingly, payeng them that, whiche is due vnto them. A father shoulde bryng vp his children in the feare of God. Children should reuerence their fathers with all submission. It is also called a distribution, when we diuide the whole, into seuerall partes, & saie we haue fower poinctes, wherof we purpose to speake, comprehendyng our whole talke within compasse of the same.

Correccion.

Correctio.

COrreccion, is when we alter a woorde or sentence, otherwise then we haue spoken before, purposyng therby to augment the matter, and to make it appere more behement. Tullie against Verres, geueth a good example. We haue broughte before you my Lordes, into this place of iudgement, not a theefe, but an extorcioner and violent robber, not an aduouterer, but a rauisher of maides, not a stealer of churche goodes, but an errant traitor, bothe to God & al godlinesse: not a commõ ruffin, but a most cruel cut throte, suche as if a man should rake hell for one, he could not find the like. Again, if one woulde enueigh against backbiters, after this fort. Thou hast not robbed hym of his money, but thou hast taken awaie his good name, which passeth al worldly goods, neither hast thou slaũdered thine enemie, but thine awne brother, & frende, that meant the wel, and hath doen thee pleasures: nay thou hast not slaũdred him, but thou hast slain him. For a man is halfe hanged, that hath lost his good name. Neither hast thou killed him with the sword, but poisoned hym with thy tongue, so that I maie call it rather an enchauntyng, then a murther. Neither hast thou killed one man alone, but so many as thou haste brought out of charite, with thy moste venemous backbityng. Yea, & last of all thou hast not slain a man, but thou hast slain Christ in his members, so muche as laie in the to doo. But of this figure I haue spoken heretofore, where I wrote of amplification.

Tullie against Verres.

Reiection.

Reiectio.

REiection is then vsed, when we lay suche faultes frõ vs, as our enemies would charge vs with al, saiyng it is folye to thynke any such thyng, muche more to

speake

speake it: or els to saie, suche a mannes woꝛd is no slaunder, oꝛ it nedeth not to talke of suche toies. Oꝛ thus. Who wold thinke that I wouldе do suche a deede? Oꝛ is it like that I would do such a deede: Antony charged Tully, that he was the occasion of ciuill battaill. Nay (q Tullie) it is thou, it is thou manne and none other, that settes Cesar on woꝛke, to seke the slaughter of his countrey.

A Buttresse.

Premunitio.

A Buttresse is a sense made foꝛ that, which we purpose to hold vp, oꝛ go about to compasse. As thus. I hope my loꝛdes, bothe to perswade this man by reason, and to haue your iudgemente in this matter. Foꝛ whereas it is a soꝛe thyng to be iustly accused, foꝛ bꝛeakyng frēdship, then assuredly if one be wꝛongfully slandered, a man had nede to loke about hym.

A familiar talke, oꝛ communicacion vsed.

Cōmunicatio

Communicacion is then vsed, when wee debate with other, and aske questions, as thoughe we loked foꝛ an answer, and so go thꝛough with our matter, leauyng the iudgement therof to their discrecion. As thus: What thinke you in this matter? Is there any other better meanes to dispatch the thing? What would you haue doen, if you were in thesame case? Here I appeale to your awne conscience, whether you would suffer this vnpunished, if a man should doe you the like displeasure.

Description of a mannes nature oꝛ maners.

Descriptio.

We describe the maners of men, when we set them furthe in their kind what thei are. As in speaking against a couetous mā, thus. Ther is no suche pinch penye on liue, as this good felowe is. He will not lose the paryng of his nailes. His heire is neuer runded, foꝛ sparyng of money, one paire of shoen serueth hym a. yꝛ. moneth, he is shod with nailes like a hoꝛse. He hath been knowē by his coate this. xxx. winter. He spent ones a grote at good ale, beyng foꝛced thoꝛow company, and taken shoꝛt at his woꝛd, where vpon he hath taken suche cōceipt sins that tyme, that it hath almoste cost him his life. Tullie describeth Piso foꝛ his naughtines of life, wonderfully to heare, yea, woꝛse then haue setfurthe this coueteous man. Read the Oꝛacion against Piso, suche as be learned.

Erroꝛ.

ERror is, when we thinke muche otherwise then the truth is. As when we haue conceiued a good opinion of some one man, and are often deceiued, to saie, who would haue thought, that he euer would haue doen so. Now of all men vpō yearth, I would haue least suspected him. But suche is the worlde. Or thus. You thinke suche a man a worthy personage, and of muche honestie, but I will proue that he is much otherwise: a man would not thinke it, but if I do not proue it, I will geue you my hedde. *Erroris inductio.*

Wyth the makyng.

I Haue heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth makyng, and therefore I little nede to renue them here in this place. *Inhilaritate impulso.*

Antecipation or Preuencion.

ANticipation is, when we preuent those wordes, that another would saie, and disproue theim as vntrue, or at least wise answere vnto them. A Godly Preacher enueighed earnestly against those, that woulde not haue the Bible to bee in English, and after earnest probacion of his cause, saied thus, but me thynkes I heare one saie. Sir, you make muche a dooe, aboute a little matter, what were we the worse, if we had no scripture at all? To whom he answered: the scripture is left vnto vs by Goddes awne will, that the rather we might knowe his commaundementes, and liue therafter all the daies of our life. Sometymes this figure is vsed when we saie, we will not speake this or that, and yet doo not withstandyng. As thus. Suche a one is an Officer, I will not saie a briber. Righte is hyndered throughe mighte, I will not saie, ouerwhelmed. Thus in sayng we will not speake, we speake, our mynde after a sort, not withstandyng. *Ante occupatio.*

A similitude.

A Similitude is a likenesse whē.tj. thinges, or mo then two, ar so cōpared and resembled together, that they bothe in some one propertie seme like. Oftentymes brute beastes, and thinges that haue no life, minister greate matter in this behalfe. Therfore those that delite to proue thynges by similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of diuerse beastes, of metalles, of stones and al suche, as haue any vertue in them, & be applied to mannes life. Some tymes *Similitudo.*

times in a worde appereth a similitude, which being dilated helpeth wel for amplificatiō. As thus. You striue against the streme, better bowe then breake. It is euil runnyng against a stone wall. A man maie loue his house well, & yet not ride vpon the ridge. By alwhiche, any one maie gather a similitude, and enlarge it at pleasure. The prouerbes of Hewode helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In comparinge a thinge from the lesse to the greater. Similitudes helpe well to set out the matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses and sentences, we maie with ease talke at large. This shall serue for an example. The more precious a thyng is, the more diligently shoulde it bee kepte, and better hede taken to it. Therefore tyme (cōsideryng, nothing is more precious) should warely bee vsed, and good care taken, that no tyme be lost, without some profite gotten. For if they are to be punished, that spend their money, and waste their landes, what folie is it, not to thynke theim worthie moche more blame, that spend their tyme) whiche is the chiefe treasure that God geueth) either idlely, or els vngodly? For what other thing doeth manne lose, when he loseth his tyme, but his life? And what can be more deare to man, then his life? If wee lose a litle money, or a ryng of golde with a stone in it, we compt that greate losse. And I praie you, whē we lose a whole daie, whiche is a good portion of a mannes life, shall wee not compte that a losse, consideryng thoughe our money be gone, wee maye recouer the same again, but tyme lost can neuer be called backe again. Again, when we lose our money, some bodye getteth good by it, but the losse of time turneth to no mannes auaile. There is no man that loseth in anye other thynge, but some bodye gaynethe by it sauynge onelye in the losse of tyme. Yea, it hath saued the lyfe of some, to lose all that they hadde. For riches be the occasion sometymes of muche mischiefe in this lyfe, so that it were better sometymes wastefully to spende, then warely to kepe: by the losse of tyme, no man hath profited him selfe any thing at all. Besides this, the better & more precious a thyng is, the more shame to spēd it fondly. Though mē kepe their goodes neuer so close, and locke them by neuer so fast, yet often tymes, either by some mischaunce of fyre, or other thinge, they are lost, or els desperate Dickes borowes nowe

Similitude enlarged.

and

and then against the owners will, all that euer he hath. And now, though the owner be vndoen, yet is he not therfore dishonest, cõsidering honestie stãdeth not in wealth, nor heapes of money: but the losse of tyme, seyng it happeneth through our owne folie, not onely doeth it make vs wretches, but also causeth men to thinke, that we are past all grace. A wonderfull kinde of infamie, when the whole blame shall rest vpon none other mannes necke, but vpon his onely, that suffreth al the harme. With money a man maie buy lande, but none can get honestie of that price: and yet with well vsyng of time, a man not onely might get hym moche worshipp, but also might purchase himself a name for euer. Yea, in a small time a man might get great fame, and liue in moche estimacio. By losing of money, we lose little els: but losyng of time we lose all the goodnesse and giftes of God, whiche by labor might be had. Thus similitudes might be enlarged, by heapyng good sentences, when one thyng is compared with an other, and conclusion made thereupon. Emong the learned menne of the Churche, no one vseth this figure, more then Chrisostome, whose writynges, the rather seme more pleasaunte and swete. For similitudes are not onely vsed to amplifie a matter, but also to beautifie the same, to delite the hearers, to make the matter plaine, and to shewe a certaine maiestie, with the report of soche resembled thinges, but bicause I haue spoken of similitudes heretofore, in the boke of Logique, I will surcesse to talke any further of this matter.

Example.

Exemplum.

HE that mindeth to perswade, must nedes be well stored with examples. And therefore, moche are thei to be commẽded, whiche searche Chronicles of al ages, and compare the state of our elders, with this present tyme. The historie of Gods boke, to the christian is infallible, and therefore, the rehearsall of soche good thinges, as are therin conteined, moue the faithfull to all vpright doyng, & amendment of their life. The Ethnicke authors stirre the hearers beyng well applied to the purpose. For when it shall bee reported that thei, whiche had no knowlege of God, liued in a brotherly loue, one towardes an other, detested aduouterie, banished periuries, hanged the vnthankefull, kepte the idle without meate, till thei laboured for their liuyng: suffered

none extorcion, exempted bribes, from bearyng rule in the commō weale: the christians must nedes be ashamed of their euill behauiour, and studie moche to passe those, whiche are in callyng moche vnder theim, and not suffre that the ignoraunt and Paganes life, shall counteruaile the taught children of God, and passe the christians, so moche in good liuing as the christians passe them in good learnyng. Unegall exāples, commende moche the matter. I call them vnegall, whē the weaker is brought in againſt the stronger, as if children bee faithfull, moche more ought men to bee faithfull. If womenne bee chaſte, and vndefiled: men ſhould moche more bee cleane, and without fault. If an vnlearned man will doe no wrong, a learned man and a preacher, muſt moche more bee vpright, and liue without blame. If an houſholder wil deale iuſtly with his ſeruauntes: a kyng muſte moche the rather, deale iuſtly with his ſubiectes. Examples gathered out of hiſtories, and vſed in this ſort, helpe moche towardes perſwaſion. Yea, brute beaſtes miniſter greate occaſiō of right good matter, conſidering many of them haue ſhewen vnto vs, the paternes and Images of diuers vertues.

Doues. Doues ſeyng an Hauke, gather all together, teaching vs none other thyng, but in aduerſitie, to ſticke one to an other.

Craines. Craines in the night haue their watche, warnyng vs neuer to bee careleſſe, for if their watche faile theim, thei all neuer leaue, till thei haue killed that one Craine, teaching vs that no traitours are worthie to liue vpon yearth. Thei watche for his ſaufegarde, and becauſe he would not ſlepe: holdeth a ſtone in his foote, the whiche falleth from hym, when he beginneth to ware heauie, and ſo kepeth hymſelf ſtill waking. Whereby wee maie learne, that all men in their vocation, ſhould bee right ware and watchfull. The Henne clocketh her Chickens, fedeth them, and kepeth them from the Kite. Women muſte clocke their children, bryng theim vp well, and kepe them from euill happe. Now I might in ſpeakyng of ſome odious vice, largely ſet out ſome example, belonging to theſame, and compare it with other, by heappyng of Chronicles, and matchyng of thynges together. The vnthankefull in this age (whereof there is no ſmalle nomber) can not haue enough ſaied againſt them. And therefore, I am mynded to ſaie ſomewhat againſt theim, to the vtter abhorryng

Vnthankfullneſſe, how euill it is.

of.

of all soche vnkinde dealyng. For he that is vnthankefull, and for harde loue, sheweth rankarde hatred: wanteth all other vertues, that are required to be in man. The chiefe perfection, and the absolute fulfillyng of the Lawe, standeth in the loue, whiche manne oweth first to God, and nexte to his neighbour. Let a man haue faithe, that he maie bee hable to translate Mountaignes (as saincte Paule saieth): yea, let hym haue neuer so good qualities, or bee he neuer so politique a man, for the saufegard of his countrie, be he neuer so wise, so ware, and so watchfull: yet if he want loue, he is nothing els but as a soundyng brasse, or a tinckelyng Cimball. Nowe, he that is churlishe and vnthankfull, muste nedes wante loue, and therefore, wanteth he all other goodnes. The Persians therefore, seing the greatnesse of this offece, and that where it rested, all vices for euer were banished: prouided by a lawe, that soche should suffer death as Felons, whiche wer found faultie with vnthankfulnesse. And yet I can not se, but thei deserue rather an exquisite kind of death (soche as fewe haue seen, or fewe haue felte) then to suffer like death with other, that haue not like offended with theim. But nowe bicause this offence is an euill mooste odious, and the principall occasion of all other mischief: I will sette foorthe three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the seconde of a Dogge, and the third of a Lion (whiche all three in thankfulnesse, if that be true, whiche is reported of theim, wonderfully exceaded) and the rather I seke to set them out, that the wicked hereby maie well knowe, what thei theim selues are, when brute beastes shall set them all to schoole.

Unthankfulnes punished by the Persians wt death.

There was a man (as Plinie writeth) whiche fostered vp a young Dragon, who seyng the same beaste to ware wonderfull greate, feared to kepe his Dragon any longer, within his hous, and therfore he put him oute, into a wilde forest. It happened after warde, that thesame man trauailyng on his iourney, through the Forest, was beset with Thieues. And nowe beyng in this distresse, and lokyng for none other ende but death, made (as lothe to departe) a greate shoute, and outerie: straight vpon whose noise, and at the knowlege of his voice, the Dragon came to hym in all the hast possible. Whereupon the Thieues being greatly afraied, ran cleane awaie, to saue theim selues harmeles. Thus, through the

Thankfulnesse of a Dragon.

thankfulnesse of a Dragon, this mannes life was saued.

Thankfulnesse of a dog.

The Dogge of the Romain Fulvius, is more wonderfull. This Fulvius trauailyng by the waie, was slaine with slaues, that laie in waite for him. His Dogge seyng his master dedde, laie by hym for the space of twoo daies. Whereupon, when the man was missyng, and searche made for hym: thei found him dedde, with his Dogge lyyng by him. Some marueiling to se the Dogge lie there, by his dedde maister, stroke him, & would haue driuen hym frō the dedde corse, and could not: some seing suche kindnes in the dogge, and pitiyng him that he should lye there without meate, twoo or three daies before: cast hym a pece of flesshe, whereupon the dogge straite caried the meate to his masters mouthe, and would not eate any whit hymself, though he had forborne meate so long before. And last of al, when the ded body should be cast into the riuer (according to the maner of the Romaines) the Dogge lept in after, and holding vp his maister, so long as he could, did chuse rather to die with him, then to liue without hym.

Thankfulnesse of a Lion

The Lion (wherof Appian the Grammarian doth speak) is also straunge for his kindnesse, and almoste incredible. A seruaunt, that had run awaie from his maister, and hid hym self for feare in a caue, within a greate wodde, toke a thorne out of a Lions foote, whiche then came to hym for succoure, as he late there. Now when he had doen, the Lion to riquite his good turne, brought suche meate to the caue, as he could kill in the wodde. The whiche meate, the seruaunt rostyng against the Sunne (beyng in the moste hotte countrey of all Affrica) did eate from time to time. At length yet being wearie of suche a lothsome life, he left the caue, and came abrode, by meanes whereof, he was taken again, and beyng a slaue to his maister (who had power of life and death ouer hym) he was condempned to be caste to the wilde beastes at Roome, there to be deuoured of a Lion. The poore caitife stoode pitifully, in the sight of thousandes, euer lokyng whē he should be deuoured. It happened at the same time, when this felow was thus adiudged to dye: that the same Lion was taken, whose foote he healed in the woodde. When the Lion was putte to hym, he came firste verie terrible towardes this fellowe, and immediatlie knowyng what he was, stoode still, and at length fawned gentlie vpon hym. The fellowe at first

beyng

beyng amased, began to take harte vnto hym afterwardes, as halfe knowyng hym likewise, and thus thei began bothe to take acquaintaunce, the one of the other, and plaied together a good space, without all daunger, whereupon the people beyng amased, moche wondered at the straungenesse of this thing. And standyng thus astonied, thei sent to know of the slaue, what this matter should meane. Unto whom this poore wretche opened, the whole thyng altogether, euen as it happened. When the people heard this, thei not onely reioised moche at the sight thereof, but also thei made earnest request to his maister for his life. His maister marueilling as moche as any of the, at soche an vnwont kindnes: gaue hym not onely his life, but also his fredome. And now to thend he might haue somwhat wherupō to liue, the people gaue him a fee for terme of his life. The fellowe by and by, got hym a lime and a coler, and caried the Lion vp and doune the citie in soche sorte, as huntesmen cary a greihound, or a spaniell, the people still wonderyng, and saiyng, euer as he came by: behold a mā, that hath cured a Lion, behold a Lion that hath saued a man. The whiche example, the more straunge it is, the more ashamed maie thei bee, that are vnnaturall, & maie learn kindnes of a brute beast. For soche mē beyng ouercum with kindnes by beastes, ar worse then beastes, & more mete rather to be tormented with deuils, then to liue with men.

¶ Of enlargyng examples by copie.

AND now bicause examples enriched by copie, helpe moche for amplification: I will giue a taste, how these and soche like histories, maie bee encreased. And for the better handling of them, nedefull it is to marke well the circumstaunces: that being well obserued, and compared together on bothe partes, thei maie the rather be enlarged. As thus. That which brute beastes haue doen, shalt thou being a man, seme not to haue doen? Thei shewed themselues naturall, and wilte thou appere vnnaturall? Maie, thei ouercame nature, and wilte thou be ouercome of them? Thei became of beastes in bodie, men in nature, and wilte thou become of a man in bodie, a beast in nature? Thei being without reason, declared the properties of reasonable creatures, and wilte thou, beyng a man endued with reason, appere in thy doinges altogether vnreasonable? Shal dogges be thāk-

Example enlarged.

full: and men, yea, chriſten men want ſoche a vertue? Shall wormes ſhewe ſoche kindnes: and men appere graceleſſe? It had been no matter, if thei had been vnthankfull: but man can neuer eſcape blame, ſeyng God hath commaunded, and nature hath graffed this in all men: that thei ſhould doe to other, as thei would be doen vnto. Again, thei for meate onely ſhewed themſelues ſo kind: and ſhall man for ſo many benefites receiued, and for ſoche goodnes ſhewed, requite for good will, euill dedes: for hartie loue, deedly hatred: for vertue, vice and for life giuen to hym, yelde death to other? Nature hath parted man and beaſte: and ſhall man in nature be no man? Shamed be that wretch, that goeth againſt nature, that onely hath the ſhape of a man, & in nature is worſe then a beaſt. Yea, worthie are all ſoche, rather to be tome with deuilles, then to liue with men. Thus an exãple might moſt copiouſly be augmented, but thus moche for this tyme is ſufficient.

Poeticall narracions profitable.

The ſaiyng of Poetes, and all their fables, are not to bee forgotten, for by them we maie talke at large, and win men by perſwaſiõ, if we declare before hand, that theſe tales were not fained of ſoche wiſemen without cauſe, neither yet continued vntill this tyme, and kepte in memorie without good conſideracion, and therevpon declare the true meaning of al ſoche writing. For vndoubtedly, there is no one tale emong all the Poetes, but vnder the ſame is comprehended ſome thyng that parteineth, either to the amendement of maners to the knowlege of truthe, to the ſettyng foorthe of natures woorke, or els to the vnderſtandyng of ſome notable thyng doen. For what other is the painfull trauaile of Vliſſes, deſcribed ſo largely by Homere, but a liuely picture of mannes miſery in this life. And as Plutarche ſaith: and likewiſe Baſilius Magnus: in the Iliades are deſcribed ſtrength, and valiauntneſſe of the bodie: In Odiſſea is ſet foorthe, a liuely patterne of the minde. The Poetes are wiſemen, and wiſhed in harte the redreſſe of thynges, the whiche when for feare, thei durſt not openly rebuke, thei did in colours painte them out, and tolde menne by ſhadowes, what thei ſhould dooe in good ſothe, or els bicauſe the wicked were vnworthy to hear the truthe, thei ſpake ſo, that none might vnderſtande, but thoſe vnto whom thei pleaſe to vtter their meanyng, and knewe them to be men of honeſt conuerſacion.

Poetes vnder colours, ſhewe moche wiſedome.

We

We read of Danae the faire damosel, who Iupiter tempted full ofte, and could neuer haue his pleasure, till at length he made it rain gold, and so as she sat in her chimney, a great deale fell vpon her lappe, the whiche she tooke gladly, and kept it there: within the whiche golde, Iupiter hymself was cõprehended, whereby is none other thyng els signified, but that women haue been, and will be ouercome with money. Danae.

Likewise Iupiter fansying the faire maide Ius, could not haue his will, till he tourned hymself into a faire white bul, whiche signified that beautie maie ouercome the beste. Ius.

If a man could speake againste coueteous caitines, can he better shewe what thei are, then by setting forth the strange plague of Tantalus, who is reported to be in hells, hauyng Water commyng still to his chinne, and yet neuer hable to drincke: and an Apple hangyng before his mouthe, and yet neuer hable to eate? Tantalus.

Icarus would nedes haue winges, and flie cõtrary to nature, whereupon when he had set them together with ware, and ioined to his side, and mounted vp into thaire. But so sone as the Sunne had somwhat heated him, and his ware began to melt, he fell doun into a great riuer, and was drouned out of hand, the which water was euer after called by his name. Now what other thing doeth this tale shew vs, but that euery man should not meddle with thinges, aboue his compasse Icarus.

Midas desired, that whatsoeuer he touched, the same might bee golde: whereupon when Iupiter had graunted hym his bounde: his meate, drinke, and all other thynges tourned into golde, and he choked with his owne desire, as all coueteous menne lightlie shall be, that can neuer be content when thei haue enough. Midas.

What other thyng are the wonderfull labours of Hercules, but that reason should withstande affection, and the spirite for euer should fight, againste the flesshe? We Christians had like Fables heretofore, of soilie fellowes, the Images whereof were set vp (in Gods name) euen in our Churches. But is any man so mad to thinke, that euer there was soche a one as S. Christofer was painted vnto vs? Marie God forbid. Assuredly when he liued vpon yearth, there were other houses builded for hym, then wee haue at this tyme, and I thinke Tailers wer mothe troubled, to take measure of him Hercules labours, what thei signified

S. Christofer, what he signified.

for making his garmentes. He might be of kin to Gargãteo if he were as bigge as he is set forth in Antwerpt. But this was the meanyng of our elders (and the name self dooeth signifie none other) that euery man should beare Christ vpon his backe, that is to saie, he should loue his brother, as Christ loued vs, & gaue his bodie for vs: he should trauaile through hunger, cold, sorowe, sickenes, death, and all daungers, with al suffraunce that might be. And whether should he trauaile? To the euerliuyng God. But how? In darknes? No forsoth by the light of his worde. And therefore S. Christofer beyng in the sea, and not well hable to get out (that is to saie) being almaste drowned in sinne, and not knowing, which way best to escape) an Eremite appered vnto him with a lantern and a light therin, the whiche doeth signifie none other thyng to the christian, but the true worde of God, whiche lighteneth the hartes of men, and giueth vnderstãdyng to the younglinges (as the Prophete doeth saie.) Again, S. George he is set on horsebacke, and killeth a Dragon with his speare, which Dragon would haue deuoured a virgine, wherby is none other thing meant, but that a king and euery man, vnto whõ the execution of iustice is cõmitted, should defende the innocent against the vngodly attemptes of the wicked, and rather kill soche deuils by marciall lawe, then suffer the innocentes to take any wrõg. But who gaue our clergie, any soche authoritie, that those monsters should be in churches, as lay mennes bokes? God forbad by expresse worde, to make any grauen Image, and shall we be so bold, to breake Gods will for a good intent, and call these Idols late mẽnes bokes? I could talke largely of examples, and heape a nõber here together, aswell of Ethnike authors, as of other here at home: but for feare I should be tedious, these for this tyme shall suffice.

S. George on horsbacke.

¶ Of Fables.

Apologi.

THe feined fables, soche as are attributed vnto brute beastes, would not bee forgotten at any hande. For not onely thei delite the rude and ignoraunt, but also thei help moche for perswasion. And bicause soche as speake in open audience, haue euer moe fooles to heare theim, then wisemen to giue iudgemente: I would thinke it not amisse, to speake moche, accordyng to the nature and phansie of the ignoraunt, that the rather thei might be wonne through fables,

bles, to learn more weightie and graue matters, for all men can not brooke sage causes, and auncient collacions: but will like earnest matters the rather, if some thing be spoken there emong, agreing to their natures. The multitude (as Horace doeth saie) is a beast, or rather a mōster that hath many heddes, therfore like vnto the diuersitie of natures, varietie of inuencion muste alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of moste graue matters, or depely searche out the ground of thynges or vse the quiddities of Dunce, to set forthe Gods misteries: and you shall se the ignorant (I warrante you) either fall a slepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must nedes bee made merie: & the more foolishe your talke is, the more wise will thei compt it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse, but rather wisedome to win men, by tellyng of Fables, to heare of Gods goodnesse. Undoubtedly fables well sette forthe, haue dooen moche good at diuers tymes, and in diuers common weales. The Romaine Menenius Agrippa, alledging vpon a tyme, a fable of ỹ conflict, made betwirt the partes of a mānes body, and his belie: quieted a marueilous stirre that was like to ensue, and pacified the vprore of seditious rebelles, whiche els thought, for euer to destroie their countrie. Themistocles perswaded the Athenians, not to chaunge their officers, by rehearsyng the fable of a scabbed Fore. For (q he) when many flies stode fedyng vpon his rawe flesche, and had well fedde theim selues, he was contented at an others perswasion, to haue theim flapt awaie: whereupon there ensued soche hungrie flies afterwardes, that the sory Fore beyng al alone, was eaten vp almoste to the harde bone, and therefore cursed the tyme, that euer he agreed to any soche euill counsaile. In like maner (q Themistocles) if you wil chaunge officers, the hungrie flies will eate you vp, one after an other, whereas now you liue, beyng but onely bitten, and like to haue no farther harme, but rather moche wealth and quietnesse hereafter, bicause thei are filled, and haue enough, that heretofore suckt so moche of your blood.

Fables, how needefull thei are to teache thyngs vnaunt

Now likewise, as I gaue a lesson how to enlarge an exāple, so maie fables also in like sort be set out, and augmented at large by amplificacion. Thus moche for the vse of fables. Againe, sometymes feigned Narracions, and wittie inuented matters (as though thei were true in deede) helpe well to

set forward a cause, and haue greate grace in thē, being aptly vsed and well inuented. Luciane passeth in this point: and sir Thomas More for his Utopia, can soner be remembred of me, then worthely praised of any, according to thexcellēcie of his inuencion in that behaulfe, doeth moste iustly require.

¶ Digestion.

Digestio.

DIgestion, is an orderly placyng of thynges, partyng euery matter seuerally. Tullie hath an example here of in his Oracion, whiche he made for Sextus Roscius Amarinus. There are three thynges (q Tullie) whiche hinder Sextus Roscius at this tyme, the accusacion of his aduersaries, the boldnesse of theim, and the power that thei beare. Eruscus his accuser hath taken vppon hym, to forge false matter, the Roscians kinsfolke haue boldly aduentured, and will face out their doynges, and Chrisogonus here, that moste can doe, will prelle vs with his power.

¶ Whicht, or a warnyng to speake no more.

Reticentia.

AWhicht, is when we bid theim holde their peace, that haue leaste cause to speake, and can dooe little good with their talkyng. Diogenes beyng vpon the Sea, emong a nomber of naughtie packes, in a greate storme of weather, when diuers of these wicked fellowes, cried out for feare of drounyng, some with fained prayer to Jupiter, some to Neptune, and euery one as thei beste

Diogenes.

fantasied the goddes aboue: whicht (q Diogenes) for by goddes mother, if God hymself knowe you to be here, you were like to bee drounded euery mothers sonne of you. Meanyng that thei were so nought, and so faignedly made their praier to false Goddes, without minde to amende their naughtie life, that the liuyng God would not leaue them vnpunished, though thei cried neuer so faste. We vse this figure likewise when in speakyng of any man: we saie, whicht, the Woulfe is at hande, when thesame manne cometh in the meane season, of whom we spake before.

¶ Contrarietie.

Contentio.

COntrarietie, is when our talke standeth by contrary woordes, or sentences together. As thus. Wee might dispraise some one man, he is of a straunge nature as euer I sawe, for to his frende he is churlishe, to his foe he is gentle: giue hym faire woordes, and you offende hym: checke hym sharpely, and you winne hym. Let

hym

him haue his will, and he will flie in thy face: kepe him short, and you shall haue hym at commaundement.

¶ Frenesse of speache.

FRenesse of speache, is when we speake bodly, and without feare, euen to the proudest of them, what soeuer we please, or haue list to speake. Diogenes herein did excell, and feared no man, when he saw iust cause to vse his minde. This world wanteth suche as he was, and hath ouer many suche, as neuer honeste man was, that is to saie, flatterers, fauners, and sothers of mennes sayinges. *Libera vox.*

¶ Stomacke grief.

STomacke grief, is when we will take the matter as hotte as a tosse. We nede no examples for this matter, hotte menne haue to many, of whom thei make be bolde and spare not, that finde themselues a colde. Sometymes we entreate earnestly, and make meanes by prayer to winne fauour. Sometymes we seke fauour by speakyng well of the companie presente. As. Through your helpe my lordes, this good deede hath been doen. Sometymes we speake to hurte our aduersaries, by settyng forthe their euill behauiour. Sometymes we excuse a fault, and accuse the reporters. Sometymes we wishe vnto God, for redresse of euill. Sometymes we curse the extreme wickednes of some passe good roisters. In all whiche I thinke neither examples nede, or yet any rehearsall had been greatly necessarie, cõsidering al these come without any greate learning, sauyng that for apt bestowing, iudgement is right nedefull. *Iracundia. Deprecatio. Conciliatio. Læsio. Purgatio. Optatio. Execratio.*

¶ Of figures and sentences, called Scheames.

WHen any sentence, vpon the placyng or settyng of woordes, is saied to be a figure: the saied is alwayes called a Scheme, the whiche woordes beyng altered, or displaced, the figure straight doeth lose his name, and is called no more a Scheme. Of this sort ther is diuers, suche as hereafter followe.

¶ Doublettes.

DOublettes, is when we rehearse one and the same woorde twise together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am. Tullie against Catiline, enueighyng sore against his traiterous attemptes, saieth after a longe rehearsed matter, and yet notwithstandyng all this notorious *Geminatio, Verborum.*

notorious wickednesse: the man liueth still, liueth: Nale Marie, he cometh into the counsaile house, whiche is more. An other: Darest thou shewe thy face, thou wretched thief, thou thief, I saie to thine owne father, darest thou looke abrode? Thus the oft repeating of one worde, doeth moche stirre the hearer, and makes the woorde seme greater, as though a sworde were ofte digged and thruste twise, or thrise in one place of the bodie.

¶ Alteryng parte of a worde.

Paulum immutatum verbum.

Altering part of a worde, is when we take a letter or sillable from some worde, or els adde a letter, or sillable to a worde. As thus. Willyam Somer seyng moche a doe for accomptes makyng, and that the kynges maiestie, of moste worthie memorie Henry the viij, wanted money, sothe as was due vnto hym: and please your grace (quod he) you haue so many Frauditours, so many Conueighers, and so many Deceiuers to get by your money that thei get all to themselues. Whether he saied true, or no let God iudge that, it was vnhappely spoken of a foole, and I thinke he had some Schoolemaister: he should haue saied Auditours, Surueighors, and Receiuers.

¶ Repetition.

Repetitio a primo.

Repetition, is whē we begin diuers sentences, one after an other, with one and thesame woorde. As thus: When thou shalt appere at the terrible daie of Iudgemente, before the high maiestie of God, where is then thy riches? Where is then thy deintie fare? Where is then thy greate bande of men? Where are then thy faire houses? Where are then all thy landes, pastures, parkes, and forestes? I might saie thus of our soueraine lorde the kynges maiestie, that now is: kyng Edwarde hath ouerthrowen idolatrie: kyng Edward hath banished superstitiō: kyng Edwarde by Gods helpe, hath brought vs to the true knowledge of our creacion: kyng Edwarde hath quieted our consciences, and laboured that all his people should seeke health, by the death and passion of Christ alone.

¶ Conuersion.

Conuersio eiusdem in extremum.

Conuersion, is an oft repeating of the last woorde, and is contrary to that, whiche went before. When iuste dealyng is not vsed: wealthe goeth awaie, frendship goeth awaie, truthe goeth awaie, all goodnes (to speake at a woorde)

woꝛde) goeth awaie. Where affections beare rule, there reason is subdued, honestie is subdued, good wil is subdued, and all thinges els that withstande euill, foꝛ euer are subdued.

¶ Comprehension.

COmprehension, is when bothe the aboue rehearsed figures, are in one kinde of speakyng vsed, so that both one firste wooꝛde, muste oft be rehearsed, and likewise all one laste wooꝛde. What winneth the hartes of men? Liberalitie. What causeth men to aduenture their liues, and die willingly in defence of their maisters? Liberalitie. What continueth the estate of a king? Liberalitie. What becometh a woman beste, and firste of all? Silence. What seconde? Silence. What thirde? Silence. What foꝛwerth? Silence. Yea, if a man should aske me, till Doumes daie, I would still crie silence, silence: without the whiche, no woman hath any good gifte, but hauyng the same, no doubt she must haue many other notable giftes, as the which of necessitie, doe euer followe soche a vertue.

Cenuersio in eadem.

Silence becometh a women.

¶ Progression.

PRogression, standeth vppon contrarie sentences, whiche aunswere one an other. If we would reboke a naughtie boie, wee might with commendyng a good boie, saie thus. What a boie art thou in conparison of this fellowe here. Thou sleapes: he wakes: thou plaies: he studies: thou art euer abroade: he is euer at home: thou neuer waites: he stil doeth his attendaunce: thou carest foꝛ no bodie: he doeth his duetie to all men: thou doest what thou canst to hurte all, and please none: he doeth what he can, to hurte none, and please all.

Progressio.

¶ Like endyng, and like fallyng.

WHen the sentences are saied to ende like, when those wooꝛdes doo ende in like sillables, whiche doo lacke cases. Thou liues wickedly, thou speakes naughtely The rebelles of Noꝛthfolke (q a moste woꝛthie manne, that made an inuective against them) thꝛough slauerie, shewe nobilitie: in deede miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause deuillishly. Sentences also are saied to fall like, when diuers wooꝛdes in one sentence, ende in like cases, and that in time. By greate trauaile, is gotte moche auails, by earnest affection, men learne discrecion.

Similiter desinens, similiter cadens.

These. ij. kindes of Oꝛnacion, are then moste delitefull, when

when contrary thinges ar repeated together: whē that ones again is vttered, which before was spoken: when sentences are turned, and letters are altered. Of the first, this maie be an exāple: where learning is loued, there labour is estemed: but where sleuthe is thought solace, there rudenesse taketh place. A kyng is honoured, that is a kyng in deede, will you drinke or you go, or wil you go or you drinke. There is a diffrēce betwixt an horsmilne, and a milnehorse. He is a meter man to driue the carte, then to serue the court. Through labour cometh honour, through idle liuing, foloweth bāging. Diuers in this our tyme, delite moche in this kinde of writing, whiche being measurably vsed, deliteth moche the hearers, otherwse it offendeth, and werieth mennes eares with saciette. S. Augustine had a goodly gift in this behalfe, and yet some thinkes he forgot measure, and vsed ouermoch this kind of figure. Notwithstāding, the people wer soche where he liued, that thei tooke moche delite in rimed sentences, and in Oracions made ballade wise. Yea, thei wer so nice and so waiward to please, that except the preacher frō time to time, could rime out his Sermon, thei would not longe abide the hearyng. Tacitus also sheweth that in his time, the Judges and Seriauntes at the lawe, wer driuen to vse this kinde of phrase, bothe in their writyng, and also in their speakyng. Yea, greate lordes would thinke theim selues contempned, if learned men (when thei speake before theim) sought not to speake in this sort. So that for the flowing stile, and full sentēce, crept in minstrelles elocucion, talking matters altogether in rime, and for weightines and grauitie of wordes succedyng nothyng els but wantonnesse of inuencion. Tullie was forsaken, with Liuie, Cesar, and other: and Apuleius, Ausonius, with soche minstrell makers, were altogether folowed. And I thinke the Popes heretofore (seing the peoples folie to be soche) made all our Hymnes & Anthemes in rime, that with the singing of men, plaiyng of orgaines, ringyng of belles, and rimyng of Hymnes, and Sequences, the poor ignoraunt might thinke the harmonie to be heauenlie, and verely beleue, that the Aungelles of God, made not a better noyse in heauen. I speake thus moche of these twoo figures not that I thinke foly to vse them (for thei are pleasaunt and praise worthie) but my talke is to this ende, that thei should

Augustine.

Tacitus.

Rimed sentences, vsed without measure.

Rimes made to mocke the simple.

neither

neither onely, nor chiefly bee vsed, as I knowe some in this our time, doe ouermoche vse them in their wrytinges. And ouermoche (as all men knowe) was neuer good yet. Yea, a mā maie haue ouermoche of his mothers blessing, if she will neuer leaue blessyng. Therefore, a measure is beste, yea, euen in the best thinges. And thus farre for these twoo figures.

¶ Egall members.

EGall members are soche, whē the one halfe of the sentence, aunswereth to the other, with iuste proporcion of nomber, not that the sillables of necessitie, should be of iuste nomber, but that the eare might iudge them to be so egall, that there maie appere small diffrence. As thus. Lawe without mercie, is extreme power, yet men through folye, deserue soche iustice. Learnyng is daungerous, if an euill man haue it. The more noble a man is, the more gentle he should be. Isocrates passeth in this behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in nomber, keepyng iuste proporcion, in frampyng of his sentence. *Paria paribꝰ relata.*

¶ Like emong them selues.

SEntences are called like, when contraries are set together, and the first taketh asmoche as the other followyng: and the other followyng, taketh asmoche awaie, as that did, whiche went before. As thus. Lust hath ouercome shamefastnesse, impudencie hath ouercome feare, and madnesse hath ouercome reason. Or els sentences are sated, to be like emong them selues, when euery parte of one sentence is egall, and of like waight one with an other. As thus. Is it knowen, tried, proued, euident, open, and assured that I did soche a deede? An other. Soche riote, Dicing, Carding, picking, stealing, fightyng, Ruffins, queanes and harlottes, must nedes bryng hym to naught. *Similia inter se.*

¶ Gradation.

GRadation, is when we rehearse the worde that goeth nexte before, and bryng an other woorde thereupon, that encreaseth the matter, as though one should goe vp a paire of Staiers, and not leaue till he come at the toppe Or thus. Gradation, is when a sentence is dilleuered by degrees, so that the woorde, whiche endeth the sentence going before, doeth begin the nexte. Labour getteth learnyng, learning getteth fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth blesse for euer. An other. Of slouth cometh pleasure, of pleasure *Gradatio.*

sure cometh spending, of spending cometh whoring, of whoring cometh lacke, of lacke cometh theste, of theste cometh hangyng, and there an ende for this worlde.

Regression.

Regressio. What is called regression, when we repeate a worde eftsones, that hath been spoken, and rehearsed before, whether thesame be in the beginnyng, in the middest, or in the latter ende of a sentence.

In the beginnyng, thus. Thou art ordeined to rule other and not other to rule thee.

In the middest, thus. He that hath money, hath not giuen it, and he that hath giuen money, hath not his money still: but he that hath giuen thankes, hath thankes still, and he that hath them still, hath giuen them notwithstandyng.

In the latter ende, thus. Manne must not liue to eate, but eate to liue. Man is not made for the Sabboth, but the Sabboth is made for man. If man doe any filthie thing, and take pleasure therein: the pleasure goeth awaie, but the shame tarieth still. If man doe any good thyng with pain, the paines go awaie, but the honestie abideth still.

Lowdes loose.

Dissolutum. Wordes loose are suche, whiche as are vttered without any addicion of conjunccions, suche as knitte woordes and sentences together. As thus. Obeie the kyng, feare his lawes, kepe thy vocacion, dooe right, seke reste, like well a little, vse all men, as thou woldest thei should vse thee.

Out cryng.

Exclamacio. Out cryng, is when with voice, we make an exclamacion. Oh Lorde, O God, O worlde, O life, O maners of men: O death, where is thy styng: O hell, where is thy victorie:

Oft vsyng of one worde in diuers places.

Can he haue any mannes harte in hym, or deserueth he the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a poore innocent man, who neuer thought hym harme.

Cause giuen to a sentence vttered.

I feare not myne aduersarie, bicause I am not guilte. I mistrust not the Judges, bicause thei are iuste, the iuelle will not taste me, the matter is so plain.

Cause giuen to thynges contrary.

Better

BEtter it were to rule, then to serue: For, he that ruleth, liueth: because he is free. But he that serueth, cannot be saied to liue. For where bondage is, there is no life properly.

Sufferaunce.

TAke your pleasure for a tyme, & do what you liste, a time will come when accopt shalbe made. When thyngs cannot be, that we would haue, we should will that, which we can haue. Pacience is a remedy for euery disease. *Permitio.*

A doubtyng.

SHall I call hym foole, or shall I call hym harlet, or bothe? Another. What made hym to commit soche a robberie? Lacke of money, or lacke of wit, or lacke of honestie? I doubt whether to call hym a fooliche knaue, or a knauishe foole. When moch matter was here in Englād, for callyng the Pope, supzem hedde of the Church (a Spanyarde, that whilome was of the Popes court in Rome) you doubt moche here in England, whether the Pope be hedde of the churche or no, and greate variaunce there is emonges you, at the which folye of yours I do moche marualll, for we doubte moche at Rome, whether he be a member of the Churche at all, or no. *Dubitatio.* A Spāiards doubte.

Reckenyng.

REckening, is when many thinges are nombred together. There is no streate, no house, no man, no child, no shop, no lodgyng in all this toune, but he hath been in it. There is no stone, no Diamond, no Saphir, no Rubie, no Chrystall: no Turcalle, no Emerode, but he knoweth theim perfectly. By this figure we may enlarge that, by rehersyng of the partes, whiche was spoken generally, and in fewe wordes. This maie be an example. Suche a tentleman being an vnthrifte, hath spent all that euer he had. Thus the sentēce maie be amplified, if we shew particularly what he had, and tell seuerally how he spent it. Loke what enheritaunce came to him (which was no smal thing) by the death of his awn kinne, & his wifes kinsfolke: What dower soeuer he had by mariage of his wife, whiche by report was a very greate thyng: What soeuer he got by executorshipe: What soeuer the kinges Maiestie gaue him. What booties soeuer he gotte in warrefare, looke what money he *Dinumeratio.* Sentence amplified by seuerall rehersing of thinges.

hadde, what plate, what apparell, what houſeholde ſtuffe, what lande and Lordeſhippes, what Shepe, goodes, Parkes, and Medowes, yea, what ſoeuer he hadde, moueable, or vnmoueable, his houſe, and all that euer he had: he hath ſoo ſpent in fewe dates, ſo waſted it, and made ſoche hauocke of all together, emong the beaſtly companie of filthy queanes, emong abhominable harlottes, with banquetyng from date to date, with ſumptuous reare ſuppers, with drinkyng in the nighte, with daintes and delicates, and all ſoche ſweete delites, with Dicing, Carding, and al maner of gamenyng: that he hath nowe lefte neither croſſe nor crucifixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde, to bleſſe hym ſelfe with all. Thus theſe wordes (he hath ſpent al his goodes in riot) are dilated and ſet furth at large, by rehearſyngh ſeuerally euery thing one after another.

Reaſonyng a matter with our ſelfes.

Diſputatio. When wee reaſon the matter with our ſelfes, when we aſke queſtions of our ſelfes, and anſwers thereunto. As thus. Howe came this good felowe by all that he hath? Did his father leaue hym any lande? Not a foot. Did his frendes geue hym any thynge? Not a grote. Hath he ſerued in any vocatiõ, to heape vp ſo moche wealth? None hath liued more idlely. Doeth he not leane to ſome noble man? Yea, but he neuer receiued more then. xiij. marke wages. How then cometh he by all that euer he hath, liuyng without labour, hauyng no frendes to helpe him, hauyng ſo litle to take vnto by all outwarde apparaunce, and ſpendyng ſo liberally, and owyng no man a grote in all the worlde? Aſſuredly, it cannot be otherwiſe, but that he cometh naughtily by moſte of that, which he hath. Another. Seyng thou art ſo baſely borne, ſo poore in ſtate, ſo ſmally learned, ſo hard fauoured, and haſt no witte at all, what meaneſt thou to bauñte thy ſelfe ſo moche, and to make ſoche bragges as thou doeſt. What doeth make thee to ware ſo proude? Thy ſtocke wher of thou diddeſt come? Why man, they are verie baſe folke. Thyne awne wealth? tuſhe, thou art as poore as Job. Thy learning? Marie thou neuer camſt yet where any learnyng did growe. Thy beautie? Nowe in good ſothe, a worſe fauoured manne can there not be vpon yearth again. Thy witte? Nowe God he knoweth, it is as blounte as many be.

What

What other thyng then, is all this thy braggyng, but plain madneſſe.

Reſſemblyng of thinges.

REſemblyng of thynges, is a comparynge or likenyng of looke, with looke, ſhape, with ſhape, and one thynge with another. As when I ſee one in a greate heate, and fierſely ſet vpon his enemie, I might ſaie, he lette flee at hym like a Dragon. Or thus. He lokes like a Tiger, a man would thinke he would eate one, his countenance is ſo ougie. He ſpeakes not, but he barkes like a dogge: he whettes his tethe like a Boze, he beates the grounde with his foote, like a greate Horſſe: he is as raumpyng as a Lion. By this figure called in Latine *Imago*, that is to ſaie an Image, we mighte compare one manne with another, as Saluſt compareth Ceaſar and Cato together, or we mighte heape many men together, and proue by large reherſall, any thyng that we woulde, the whiche of the Logicians is called induction. *Imago.*

Anſwerynge to our ſelf.

WE are ſaied to anſwer our ſelf, when wee ſeme to tell our ſelf, what we will do, Phedria in Terence beyng moch troubled and out of quiet, becauſe he was not receiued of his woman, but ſhutte out of dores, when he was moſt willyng to ſe her, made as though he would not come to her afterwardes, nor yet ſe her at all, when ſhe did moſte lently ſende for him. And therfore being in his anger, thus he ſaied: Well, what ſhall I dooe? Shall I not go, not euen now when ſhe ſendes for me, of her awn accorde? Or ſhall I be of ſoche a nature, that I cannot abide the deſpitefulneſſe of harlottes? She hath ſhutte me out, ſhe calles me again. Shal I go to her? Naie I will not, though ſhe entreate me neuer ſo faire. *Sibi ipsi reſponsio.*

Order.

ORder is of two ſortes, the one is, when the worthier is preferred, and ſet before. As a man is ſette before a woman. The ſeconde is, when in amplification, the weightieſt wordes are ſette laſt, & in diminiſhyng, the ſame are ſette formoſte. With what looke, with what face, with what harte dare thou do ſoche a dede? *Ordo.*

Briefe deſcribyng, or circumſcription.

Cirtumscriptio.

Circumscription, is a briefe declaryng of a thynge. As thus. He is free, that is subiect to no euill. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diuerse other colours of Rhetorique, to commende and set furthe a sentence, by chaunge of wordes, and moche varietee of speache, but I had rather offende in speakyng to little, then deserue rebuke in sayng to moche. For asmoch as close silence may soner be pardoned, then immoderat babling can want iust blame, & therfore thus an ende.

¶ Of Memorie.

As I haue labored to set out thother parts of Rhetorique, in soch ample wise as I thought most nedefull, so it standeth me in hande, not to slacken myne endeuor, now that I am come to speake of memorie. For, though man haue vnderstãding & iudgemẽt, which is one parte of wisedome: yet wãting a remẽbraunce to apply thynges aptly, when time & place shal best require: he shall doe but small good with al his vnderstandyng. And therfore it is said not without reason, that thesame is memorie to the mynde, that life is to the body. Nowe then what elles must they doe that esteme reason, and loue knowlege, but cherishe the memorie from tyme to tyme, as an especial and soueraine preseruatiue, against thinfection of rankard obliuiõ. The faulkners saie, it is the first poinct of haukyng to hold fast. And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in all good learnyng also, it is best & moste expedient, euermore to hold fast. For, what auaile good thinges, if we cannot kepe theim, if we receiue theim in at one eare, and let them out as fast again at the other eare? A good thriftie man will gather his gooddes together, in tyme of plentie, and laie theym out agayne in tyme of nede: and shall not an Orator haue in store good matter, in the cheste of his memorie, to vse and bestowe in tyme of necessitee? I doubte not, but all menne desire to haue a good remembraunce of thynges, the whiche what it is, howe it is deuided, and howe it maye be preserued, I will shewe in as fewe wordes as I can.

what is memorie.

Memo-

Memozy is the power retentiue of the mynde, to kepe those thinges, whiche by mannes wit are conceiued, oz thus. Memozie is the power of the mind that conteineth thynges receiued, that calleth to mynde thynges past and renueth of freshe, thinges forgotten. Memozie what it is.

The place of Memozie.

The Phisicians declare, that in the former parte of the hed, lieth the common sense, the which is therfore so called, because it geueth iudgemēt, of al the fiue outward sences, onely whē they are presently occupied about any thing. As when I heare a thyng, oz see a thyng, my common sense iudgeth, that then I doe heare, oz se the same. But the memozie called the Threasure of the mynde, lieth in the hynder parte, the whiche is made moste perfect by temperatnesse, and moderacion of qualitees in the brain. For wher humours excede oz want, there must nedes ensue moche weakenesse of remembraunce. Childzen therefore beyng ouer moyste, and olde men ouer dzie, haue neuer good memozies. Again, where ouer moch cold is, & extreme moysture, there is euer moche forgetfulnesse. Therfore it auaileth greatly, what bodies we haue, and of what constitucion they bee compact together. For soche as bee hotte and moyste, do sone conceiue matters, but thei kepe not long. Again, thei that bee colde and dzie, doe hardely conceiue, but thei kepe it surely, when thei ones haue it. And the reason is this, heate beinge chief qualite, dooeth drawe thinges vnto it (as we may se by the Sonne) the which notwithstandyng are sone after dissipated & resolued. Again, who hath seen a print made in water of any erthly thing? Thā though heate and moysture together, drawe thinges vnto them, yet (we se plainly) thei cannot long hold them. But when the brain is cold and dzie, thinges are therfore the faster holden, because it is the propertie of colde and drought, to thicken all thynges, and to harden theim faste together, as we see the water through coldenesse, is congeled, and softe thynges are frosen oftentymes, almoste as harde as a stone. So that moysture, through heate being chief qualitie, doth drawe: and drought throughe coldnesse, whiche is chief contrary to heate, doeth harden & make thynges faste together. But now how doe wee knowe, that the memozie resteth in the latter parte of

Childzen and olde mē haue but euill memozies.

Hot & moyste bodies sone conceiue. Cold and dzie kepe thynges sure.

Memorie in ỹ latter part of the hedde.

the hedde: No doubte, experience hath proued, and confirmed this to be most true. For, there hath been some, that beyng hurt in that parte, haue vtterly forgot their awn name. I do remember one man, that (beeyng hurte in that place, at the insurrection of the Lincolne shire men, xv. yeres past) could not deuise the makyng of some Letters, in his Crosse rowe, when he toke penne and ynke, to write to his frende, whereas before that tyme, he wrote bothe fast and faire, and was learned in the Latine. And therfore when he wrote, he would stande musyng a greate while, before he could call to his remembraunce, howe he vsed to make a. B. a. C. or suche an other letter, whereupon diuerse moche maruailed what he would haue, or what he ment at the first tyme. For being greued, and willing to aske help, he could not vtter his meanyng, for lacke of remembraunce, and yet his tongue serued hym well otherwise, to vtter what soeuer came in his hedde.

The deuision of memorie.

Memorie deuided.

MEmorie is partely naturall, and partly artificiall. Naturall memorie, is when without any preceptes or lessons, by the onely apteneſſe of nature, we beare awaie suche thinges as wee heare. Wherein some heretofore, did moche excell, and greatly passe all other. As themistocles, who had so good a memorie, that whē one proffered to teache hym the arte of memorie, nate by sainct Marie (quoth he) teach me rather the arte of forgetting. Declaryng thereby that his memorie was passyng good, & that it was more pain for hym, to forgette suche thynges, as he would not kepe, then hard to remember suche thinges as he would knowe.

themistocles.

Mithridates also hadde suche an excellente memorie, that whereas he was Lorde and ruler ouer. xxij. straunge countries that speake diuers speches, one from an other: he was able to talke with euerye one of theym in their owne countreie language.

Mithridates

Cyrus.

Lykewise Cyrus kynge of the Persians, hauynge a greate armye of menne, knewe the names of all his Souldiours.

Cyneas.

Cyneas Ambassadoure for kinge Pyrrhus called euerye one by his name that was in the Parleamente house at Rome, the seconde daye after he came thither, the nomber

of

of theim beyng foure times as many as they be, that belong vnto the Parliament here in Englande.

Julius Cesar is reported that he coulde reade, heare, and tell one what he should write, so fast as his penne could runne, and endite letters hym selfe altogether at one time. Julius cesar.

Thus we see that naturallye menne haue hadde wonderfull memories, as contrarywise there haue bene hearde of as straunge forgetfull wittes. Some hathe not knowen his right hande from his lefte. An other hath forgotte his owne name. An other hath caried his knyfe in his mouthe: and hath runne rounde aboute the house sekynge for it. An other hath tolde a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgotte what he spake all that while. Forgetfull wittes.

Cicero telleth of one Curio, that where as he woulde make a deuision of three partes, he woulde either foget the thirde, or make vp a fourthe, contrarie to his firste purpose and entente.

This I remember being a boye, that where as a preacher hadde taken vpon him to set forthe the. xij. Articles of our beliefe, he coulde not in all the worlde finde oute paste nine. So that he was faine to say, he was assured there was twelue, where soeuer the other three were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knew theim better then he did, and therefore he would for his parte saye no more, but commit them all to God, & those nine (thought he) were enough for him at that time, to set forthe and expounde for their vnderstandinge. Belike thys man had the art of forgettinge.

Now the beste meane bothe to mend an euill memorie, and to preserue a good, is firste to kepe a diet, and eschewe surfites, to slepe moderatlie, to accompanye with woman rarelye, and laste of all to exercise the witte with cunnynge of manye thinges without Booke, and euer to be occupied with one thinge or other. For euen as by laboure the witte is whetted, so by lithernes the witte is blounted. Preseruation of Memorie.

But nowe concerning the other kinde of memorye called artificiall, I had nede to make a long discourse, consideryng the straungenesse of the thynge to the English eare, and the hardnes of the matter, to the ignoraunte & vnlearned. But firste I wil shew from whence it hath beginning, and vpon what occasion it was first inuented, before I aduenture to

declare the preceptes that belonge vnto the same.

The firste founder of the art of Remembraunce.

Simonides first auctour of the Arte of remembraunce

THe inuention of this Arte, is fatherde vpon Simonides, for when the same man (as the fable recordeth) had made in behalfe of a triumphant Champion called Scopas, for a certain summe of money a Ballade, soche as was then wonte to be made for Conquerours: he was denied a piece of his rewarde, because he made a digression in his songe (whiche in those daies was customablye vsed) to the praise and cómendacion of Castor & Pollux (who were then thoughte being Twinnes, and gotte by Jupiter to be Goddes) of whome the Champion willed hym to aske a porcion, becaúse he hadde so larglie set forthe their worthie doynges. Nowe it chaunced, that where as there was made a great feast, to the honour of the same Victorye, and Simonides had bene placed there as a geste, he was sodaine lie called from the table, and tolde that there was two yong men at the dore, & both one horsebacke, whiche desired moste earnestlye to speake with him oute of hande. But when he came out of the dores, he saw none at all, notwithstanding, he was not so sone out, and his sote on the threshoulde, but the Parlour fel down immediatlye vpon theim al that were there, and so crushed their bodies together, & in soche sorte, that the kinsfolke of those whiche were dead, commyng in, & desirous to burie theim euery one accordyng to their calling, not onelye could they not perceiue them by their faces, but also they coulde not discerne theim by any other marke of any parte in all their bodies. Then Simonides well remēbring in what place euerye one of theim did sitte, tolde theim what euery one was, and gaue them their kinsfolkes carcases, so many as wer there. Thus the arte was firste inuented. And yet (though this be but a fable) reason might beat thus moch into our heades, that if the like thing had bene doen, the like remembraunce might haue been vsed. For who is he that seeth a dosen sit at a table, whom he knoweth very well, can not tell, after they are all risen, where euery one of them did sitte before? And therfore, be it that some man inuented this tale: the matter serueth wel our purpose, and what nede we any more?

What thinges are requisite to get the Arte of Memory.

They

THei that will remēber many things, and rehearse them together out of hande: muste learne to haue places, and digest Images in them accordingly.

A place what it is.

A place is called any roume, apt to receiue thinges.

An Image, what it is.

An Image is anye picture or shape, to declare some certain thing thereby. And euen as in ware we make a printe with a seale, so we haue places where liuely pictures muste be set, The places muste be greate, of smal distaunce, not one like an other, and euermore the fifte place, muste be made notable aboue the rest, hauing alwaies some seuerall note frō the other, as some antique, or a hande poincting, or soche like, that the rather hauing a greate nomber of places, wee might the better knowe where we are, by the remēbraunce of soche notable and straunge places. And thus hauing thē well appointed, we muste kepe them freshe in our memorie, and neuer chaunge them, but vse them still, whatsoeuer we haue to sale. But the Images we male chaunge, as the matter shall giue iuste cause, vsing soche as shall serue beste for the knowlege of thinges. The whiche Images muste be set forthe, as though thei were stirring, yea, thei must be sometimes made raumping, and laste of all, thei must be made of thynges notable, soche as male cause earneste impression of thinges in our minde. As a notable euill fauoured man, or a monstruous horse, soche as saint Georges horse was wonte to be, or any soche like, helpe well for remembraunce.

Places how thei must be.

Images how they must be.

i. The places of Memory, ar resembled vnto Ware and Paper.

ii. Images are coumpted like vnto Letters, or a Seale.

iii. The placyng of these Images, is like vnto wordes written.

iiii. The vtteraunce and vsing of them, is like vnto reading.

AND therefore, as wee dooe reserue Paper, and yet chaunge our writting, putting out wordes as occasiō shall serue, and setting other in their roume: so male we doe for the Images inuented, chaunge our picture oft, and reserue the papers still. Some gather their places and

ymages out of the crosse rowe, beginning euery letter with the name of some Beaste, and so go thorowe the whole, makyng in euerie beast fyue seuerall places, where the impression of thyngs shalbe made, that is to saie, in the Heade, the Bealye, in the Taile, in the former parte of the legges, and also in the hinder part. So that by this meanes, there shall be gathered, and hundreth and fiftene places.

Some again will set their places in his head or body, with whō they speake. As to make the nose, the eyes, the forehead, the heere, the eares, & other partes, to serue for places. And for making places in any house, church, or other rowm this lesson is also geuen, that we enter oure first places alwaies vpon the right hande, neuer returning backe: but going on styll as I might saye in a circuite, till we come to that place where we first beganne. But first before the Images be inuented, the places must be learned perfitelye, & therfore one geueth cōsaill that wee shoulde go into some solitary place where no cōpany is, & there make our places, walking by & downe four or fiue times, & callyng styl to our remēbraunce what, & where the places are. And not onely to do this once or twise, but to labor in it two or thre dates at seueral times vntil we shal be able to tel our places vpō our fingers ends

An nowe to make this harde matter somewhat plaine, I will vse an example. My frende (whom I take euer to be an honest mā) is accused of theft, of aduouterie, of ryot, of man slaughter, & of treason, if I would kepe these wordes in my remembraunce, & rehearse them in order as they were spoken, I must appointe fiue places, the whiche I hadde neade to haue so perfectely in my memory, as could be possible. As for example, I wil make these in my chamber. A dore, a window, a presse, a bedstead, and a chimney. Nowe in the dore, I will set *Cacus* the theef, or some sothe notable theef. In the windowe I wil place *Venus*. In the presse I wil put *Apitius* that famous glutton. In the bedstead I wil set Richard the thirde kinge of Englande, or some like notable murtherer. In the chimneye I will place the blake Smythe, or some other notable traitoure. That if one repete these places, and these Images twise or thrise together, no doubte though he haue but a meane memorie, he shall carie away the wordes rehearsed with ease. And like as he maye do with these fyue

wordes

wordes, so may he do with fiue score, if he haue places fresh in his remembraunce, and do but vse him selfe to this trade one fortenight together.

Therfore though it seme straūge and foolish to them that know it not, yet the learned haue taken this way, & doubte not but maruayles maye be done, if one haue places readye made for the purpose, & haue them fresh in his remēbraunce. For what other thing els do thei that appoint ymages in certain places made for that purpose but write (as man would saye) vpon Paper, that whiche is spoken vnto them? What maketh the olde manne (that for lacke of naturall heate and moisture, scant knoweth his right hād frō his lefte) remēber in the morning wher he laied his purse al nyght, but y. bedes heade which lyghtlye is the appointed place for al mennes purses, especiallie soch as be wayfarers, & haue but litle store. Shal some gentilman playe blindefold at the chesse and cā not a learned man be able to rehearse vp a score or .x. of straunge nāmes together? A Neteherd hauing the charge and keping of twentie score hed of beastes in a wyld Fenne, that belonge to diuers menne, will not onely tell who be the owners of al soch cattel, but also he wil shew a manne twise a weeke where any one is feadyng, & if he want one among the whole, he will tel immediatly what it is, and whose it is that is wantinge. Then fonde are they that counte the Art of Memorie so harde, seynge they will neither proue the hardenes of it, nor yet blowth at the matter, when they se poore neteherdes go so farre beyonde them. Howe many thinges dothe Memorie conteine maruellous to beholde, and moche more woulde, if we were not altogether slouthfull, and as careleste to kepe, as we are to gette, good thinges I meane, not goodes of this worlde. Euerye Artificer hath through exercise and labour, an artificial memorye, saynge the learned man onelye, who hath moste neede of it aboue all other.

When we come to a place wher we haue not bene many a daye before, we remembre not onely the place it selfe, but by the place, we call to remembraunce manye thinges done there. Yea sometimes a windowe maketh some remēber, that they haue stolen in their daies some thinge out of it. Sometimes a chimney telleth them of manie late drinkinges and sittinges vp by the fire. Sometimes a bedestead putteth the

in

in remembraunce of many good morowes, sometymes a doore, and sometymes a parler. Thus wee see places euen without Images, helpe oft the memorie, moche more then shall we remember, if we haue bothe places and Images.

But now, bicause I haue halfe wered the reader with a tedious matter, I will harten him again with a merie tale. At the tyme of rebellion in Northfolke, there was a Priest emong all other, adiudged to dye vpon a Gibet, in a greene place, a little from the high waie side. This priest seyng the place at his last ende, stode a while musing with himself, and

God graūt al rebels like remembraunce.

saied to the companie there. Now Lorde God, what a thing is this. It comes to my remembraunce now, that about. xiiij yeres paste, I was merie here vpon this bancke, with an other Priest, and wallowyng me doune vpon the Grasse, I saied these wordes: *Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam.* The which Sentence beeyng a Psalm of Dauid, is nothyng els in English: But this is my resting place for euer and euer, here shall bee my dwelling, bicause I haue chosen it. And now (quod he) I finde it to be ouer true, so that I thinke it be Gods will I should dye, and therefore I take it in good worth, and thus I desire you all to praie for me. Thus we se that the place brought him in remēbraunce of a sentence, spoken. xiiij. yeres before.

Therefore, this knowledge is not to bee neglected, no though we doe contempne it, yet we haue the vse of it. For, if we be fully disposed to remember a thing, we doue call vp the memorie, & stirre it to minde thinges like thereunto. As

Remēbraunce by thyngs like.

if one be called Wingfeld, and I fear to forget this name, I might remember the wing of a birde, & a grene feld to walk in. Sometimes we remember the whole, by keping in mind some part of a worde. As when one is called Crowcrofte, I might by remēbring of a Crow, the rather minde his name. Notwithstanding there be some (emong whō is Erasmus) whiche like not this arte of Memorie, but saie it rather hindereth then helpeth a mannes wit. And yet Tullie the greteſt Orator emong the Romaines, did well allowe it, and proued it good by a naturall reason. For wher as we know some thynges (saieth he) onelie by vnderstandyng, and some by the sense of seyng, those wee keepe beſte in our myndes, which we knowe by sight, and haue marked with our yes.

As

As for example. When I see a Lion, the Image thereof abideth faster in my minde, then if I should heare some reporte made of a Lion. Emong all the senses, the eye sight is moste quicke, and conteineth the impression of thinges more assuredlie, then any of the other senses doe. And the rather when a man bothe heareth and seeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie, he doeth almost se thinges liuely) he doeth remember it moche the better. The sight printeth things in a mannes memorie, as a seale dooeth printe a mannes name in ware. And therefore, heretofore Images wer sette vp for remembraunce of saintes, to bee laie mennes bookes, that the rather by seyng the pictures of soche men, thei might be stirred to followe their good liuing. The whiche surelye had been well dooen, if God had not forbidden it. But seyng thynges must be doen, not of a good entent, but euē as God hath cōmaunded, it is well dooen that soche Idols are cleane taken out of the churche. Marie for this purpose, whereof we now write, thei would haue serued gallie well. Thus the arte is sone told, but the practise of it is all. And therefore, if one desire to excell herein, let him take paines to gather his places together, and kepe them wel in remembraunce, prouing by halfe a score, how he shalbe able to vse a. C. And no doubte, but time and exercise shal make him perfect. For the best art of memorie that can bee, is to heare moche, to speake moche to reade moche, and to write moche. And exercise it is that doeth all, when we haue sated all that euer we can.

¶Of Pronunciacion.

Utteraunce, what it is.

PRonunciatiō is an apt ordering, bothe of the voice, countenaunce, and all the whole body accordyng to the worthines of soche woordes and matter, as by speach are declared. The vse hereof is soche, for any one that liketh to haue praise, for telling his tale in open assembly, that hauinge a good toungue, and a comelie countenaunce, he shall be thought to passe al other, that haue the like vtteraunce: though they haue moche better learning. The tongue giueth a certain grace to euery matter, and beautifieth the cause in like maner, as a swete soundyng Lute, moche setteth forthe a meane deuised Ballade. Or as the sounde of a good instrument, stirreth the hearers, and moueth moche

delite,

delite, so a cleare soundyng voice, coumforteth moche eare deintie eares, with moche sweete melodie, and causeth vs to allowe the matter, rather for the reporters sake, then the reporter, for the matters sake. Demosthenes therefore, that famous Orator, being asked what was the chiefest poincte in all Oratorie, gaue the chief and onely praise to Pronunciation, being demaunded, what was the second, and the third he still made answere, Pronunciatiō, and would make none other aunswere, till they left asking, declaring hereby, that arte without vtteraunce can doe nothing, vtteraunce without arte, can doe right moche. And no doubt, that man is in outward apparaunce, halfe a good clarke, that hath a cleane tongue, and a comelie gesture of his bodie. Aeschines likewise, being banished his Countrie through Demosthenes, when he had red to the Rhodians his owne Oracion, & Demosthenes answere thereunto, by force whereof he was banished, and al they maruelled moch, at the excellencie of the same: then (q Aeschines) you would haue maruelled moche more, if you had heard himself speake it. Thus being cast in miserie, and banished for euer, he could not but giue soche greate reporte of his mosse dedlie and mortall enemie.

Demosthenes saiyng of pronunciatiō

Aeschines.

The partes of Pronunciacion.

Pronunciacion, standeth partlie in fashionyng the tongue, and partlie in frampng the gesture.

The tongue or voice, is praise worthy, if the vteraūce be audible, strong, and easie, and apt to order as wee liste. Therefore, they that minde to get praise, in telling their minde in open audience, muste at the firste beginning, speake somewhat softlie, vse mete pausing and being somwhat heated, rise with their voice, as the time and cause shal best require. They that haue no good voices by nature, or can not well vtter their woordes, muste seke for help elswhere. Exercise of the bodie, fasting, moderacion in meate, and drinke, gaping wide, or singing plaine song, and counterfeicting those that doe speake distinctly, helpe moche to haue a good deliueraunce. Demosthenes being not able to pronounce the firste letter of that Arte whiche he professed, but would saie, for, Rhetorique, Letolike, vsed to put little stones onder his tong, and so pronounced, whereby he spake at lenghth so plainlie, as any manne in the world could doe.

Musicians

Musicians in England haue vsed, to put gagges in children's mouthes, that they might pronounce distinctlie, but nowe with the losse and lacke of Musicke, the loue also is gone of bringing vp children to speake plainlie. Some there be that either naturally, or through folie haue soche euill voices, and soche lacke of vtteraunce, and soche euill gesture, that it moche defaceth al their doynges. One pipes out his wordes soo small, through defaulte of his wynde pipe, that ye would thinke he whisteled. An other is hource in his throte, that a manne would thinke, he came latelie from scouryng of harnesse. An other speakes, as though he had plummes in his mouthe. And other speakes in his throte, as thoughe a good Ale crumme stacke sasse. An other ratles his wordes. An other choppes his wordes. An other speakes, as though his wordes had neede to be heaued out with leauers. An other speakes, as though his wordes should bee weighed in a ballaunce. An other gapes to fetche winde at euery thirde worde. This manne barkes out his Englishe Northrenlike, with I saie, and thou ladde. An other speakes so finely, as though he were brought vp in a Ladies Chamber. As I knewe a Priest that was as nice as a Nonnes Henne, when he would saie Masse, he would neuer saie *Dominus vobiscum* but *Dominus vobicum*. In like maner as some now will saye the commendementes of GOD, Blacke Velluet, for Commaundementes, and blacke veluet. Some blowe at their nostrilles. Some sighes out their wordes. Some synges their sentences. Some laughes altogether, whē they speake to any bodie. Some gruntes like a Hogge. Some cackles like a henne, or a Jacke Dawe. Some speakes as though thei should tell a tale in their sleue. Some cries out so loude, that they would make a mannes eares ake to heare theim. Some couches at euery word. Some hemmes it out. Some spittes fire, they talke so hotely. Some makes a wrie mouth and so they wrestle out their wordes. Some whimes like a Pigge. Some suppes their wordes vp, as a poore man doth his porage. Some noddes their hed at euery sentence. An other winckes with one eye, and some with bothe. This man frouneth alwaies whan he speakes. Another lokes euer as though he wer mad. Some can not speake, but they must go vp and doune, or at the least be stirring their fete, as thoug they

Fettes in pro nunciacion.

they stode in a cockeryng Boate. An other will plaie with his cappe in his hande, and so tell his tale. Some when they speake in a greate companie, will looke all one waie, as I knewe a reader in my daies, who looked in like sorte, when he redde to Scolers, whom one thought to disappointe of soche his constante lookes: and therefore againste the nexte daie, he painted the Deuill with hornes vppon his hedde, in the self same place, where the Reader was wonte alwaies to looke, the whiche straunge monster, when the Reader sawe, he was halfe abashed, and tourned his face an other waie. Some poores vpon the ground, as though thei sought for pinnes. Tullie tilles of one Theophrastus Tauriscus, who is saied to declaime arsee verse. Some swelles in the face, and filles their Chekes full of winde, as thoughe they woulde blowe out their woordes. Some settes forthe their lippes, twoo ynches good beyonde their teeth. Some talkes as though their tongue wente of pattines. Some shewes all their teeth. Some speakes in their teeth altogether. Some lettes their woordes fall in their lippes, scant opening them when they speake. There are a thousande soche faultes emong menne, bothe for their speache, and also for their gesture, the whiche if in their young yeres, they bee not remedied, they will hardlie bee forgotte, when thei come to mannes state. But the rather that these faultes maie bee redressed: I haue partly declared heretofore, the right vse of vtteraunce. and now I minde by Gods help, to shewe the righte vse of gesture.

what is gesture.

Gesture, what it is.

Gesture is a certaine comely moderacion of the countenance, and all other partes of mannes bodye, aptlie agreeynge to those thinges, whiche are spoken. That if wee shall speake in a pleasaunt matter, it is meete that the looke also shoulde bee therefull, and all the gesture stirring thereafter. The hedde to bee holden vpright, the forehedde without frounyng, the browes without bendyng, the nose without blowyng, the yes quicke and pleasaunt, the lippes not laied out, the teeth without grennyng, the armes not moche caste abroade, but comely sette out, as tyme, and cause shall beste require: the handes sometymes opened, and sometymes holden together, the fingers poincteyng,

tyng, the breaste laide out, and the whole bodie stirryng altogether, with a semelie moderacion. By the whiche behauiour of our bodie, after soche a sorte, we shall not onlie delite menne with the sight, but perswade them the rather the truthe of our cause.

M. Hortēsius had soche delite to vse comelie gesture, and had soche grace in that behalfe: that I doubte whether men had a greater desier to se hym, then thei had to heare hym. His countenaunce so well agreed with his wordes, and his wordes were so meete for his countenance: that not onelie he did please the iudgemente of his heartes, and contented their minde: but also he pleased their yes, and delited their eares, so moche as could be wished. Hortensius.

Tullie saieth well: The gesture of manne, is the speache of his bodie, and therfore reason it is, that like as ẏ speache must agree to the matter, so muste also the gesture agree to the minde, for the yes are not giuen to manne onlie to see, but also to shewe, and set forthe the meanyng of his minde, euen as vnto a Boye, are giuen bridelles: To a Lion, the taile: to a horse, his eares: whereby their inclinacions and sodaine affeccions are sone espied. When wee see a manne looke redde in the yes, his browes bente, his teethe bityng his vpper lippe, we iudge that he is out of pacience. Therefore as wee ought to haue good regarde, for the vtteraunce of our wordes, so we ought to take hede that oure gesture bee comelie, the whiche bothe beeyng well obserued, shall encrease fame, and get estimacion vniuersallie.

But heare an ende. And now as my will hath been earneste, to doe my beste: so I wishe that my paines, maie be taken thereafter. And yet what needes wishyng, seing the good will not speake euill: and the wicked can not speake well. Therefore being staied vpon the good, and assured of their gentle bearyng with me: I feare none, bicause I stande vppon a sause ground.

¶ *A Table to finde out soche matter as is conteined in this Booke, firste by the Leafe, and nexte by the Page, or syde of the Leafe.*

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Abusion what it is. lxxxix.i

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Amplificatiō what it is, and howe it is deuided. lxii.i

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Amplificatiō by examples. lxiii.ii

Amplificatiō by contraries. lxiiii.i

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Beldames blinde answer. lrrij.i
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Bibulus patience for losse of his children. rlij.i
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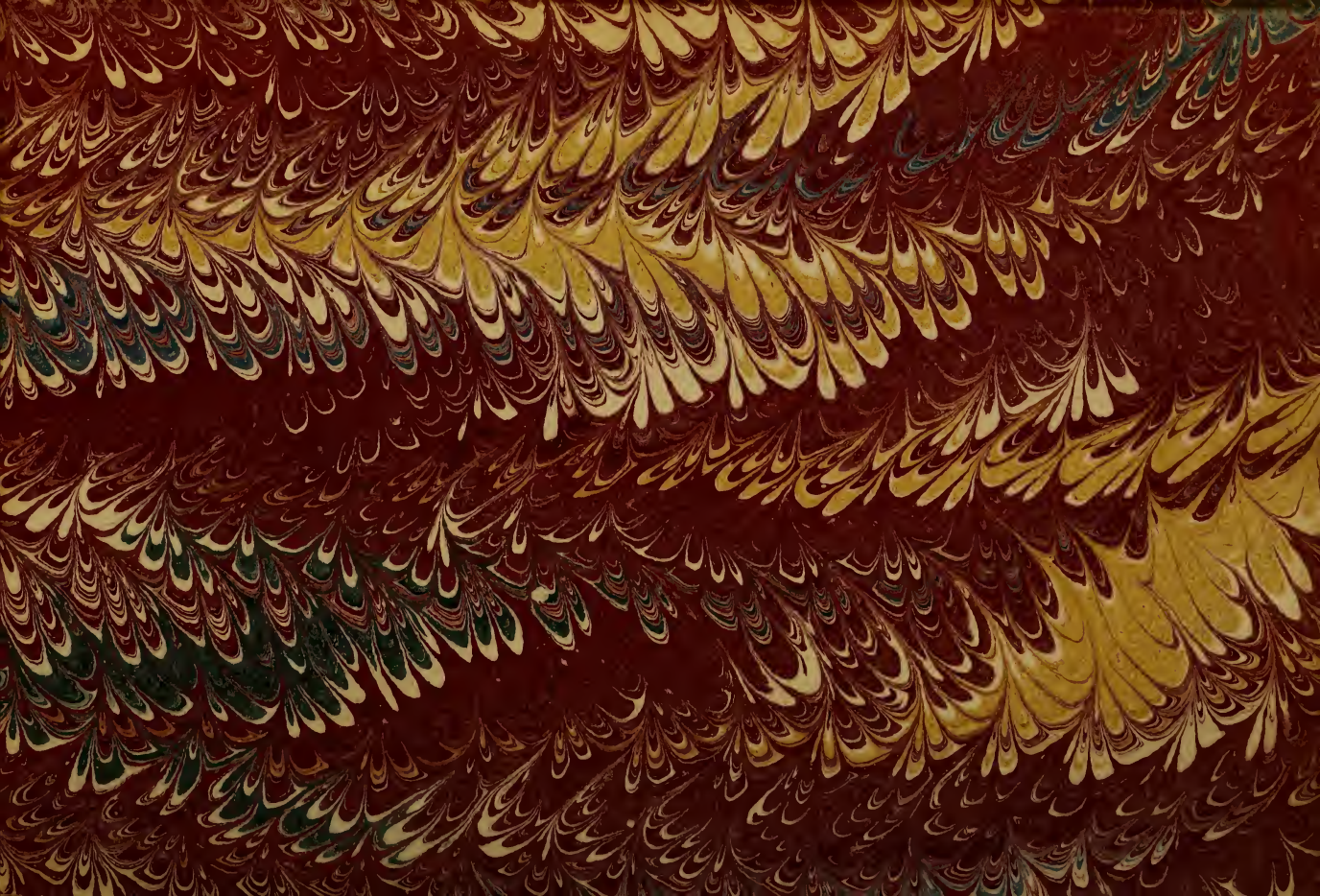

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